THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR

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THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXII

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LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXII

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PREFACE

This volume developed out of a doctoral dissertation presented in January, 1969 to the Department of the Classics of Harvard University. Since that time much new material has been discovered in the way of later manuscripts, and this has greatly increased the scope of the original work. The conclusions drawn there, however, have remained substantially the same; they are intended to serve as the basis for an edition of the text now in progress.

I should like to thank the scholars and organizations who have so generously given me their assistance during the preparation of the material. First and foremost, I am indebted to Professor W. V. Clausen for suggesting the topic and helping me in numerous ways. A Rome Prize Fellowship in Classical Studies from the American Academy in Rome enabled me, in 1967 and 1968, to examine manuscripts in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, and I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Trustees for the award and to Mrs. Inez Langobardi, Librarian at the Academy, who rendered many special services and whose aid was invaluable in matters relating to libraries in Rome. I am also grateful to many other librarians who gave willingly of their time and energy and to the staff of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. A number of microfilms were secured through the kindness of Professor Wolfgang Hering who also sent a much-appreciated list of corrections to my collations. Professor Bernhard Bischoff and Professor Giulio Battelli have answered my questions regarding the palaeography of the oldest manuscripts. My thanks are further owing to Dr. R. H. Rodgers who, in addition to other things, verified several points in different libraries, and to Dr. Walter N. Nichipor who helped me with bibliographical references. I have been fortunate enough to discuss with Professor Robert Dale Sweeney at some length, and to great advantage, problems of transmission. Finally, I must acknowledge a debt which, though the most recent, is by no means the smallest: my colleague J. R. O'Donnell has given me the tremendous benefit of his wide knowledge and expertise in editing Latin texts.

Toronto, 7 September 1971.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *CIVIL WAR* USED IN MODERN EDITIONS

L = Londinensis 10084, s. XI/XII

m = Laurentianus 68.6, s. XII/XIII

M = Laurentianus 68.8, s. X/XI, XII

N = Neapolitanus IV. c. 11, s. XI

R = Riccardianus 541, s. XII[1]

S = Laurentianus Ashburnhamensis 33, s. X med.

T = Parisinus latinus 5764, s. XI[2]

U = Vaticanus latinus 3324, s. XI/XII

V = Vindobonensis 95, s. XII[1]

INTRODUCTION

Caesar has never been an author in search of an editor. Witness the large number of printed texts of the *Commentaries*.[1] With this indisputable fact in mind, one wonders if anything more can be said about the textual transmission of an ancient writer who has enjoyed such popularity. The explanation and justification for this study are simply that the basic problems confronting any editor who approaches his task systematically are still unresolved for the *Civil War*. A brief survey of various editions from the Renaissance to the present will supply the background needed to make this clear, and may also be of interest to those concerned with the history of scholarship.

The first phase in the editing of the *Civil War* belongs solely to Italian incunabula. Giovanni Andrea Bussi (Joannes Andreas Aleriensis) is responsible for the *editio princeps* which was printed in 1469 at Rome by Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz [2] and contains the genuine as well as the spurious *Wars*. Born in 1417 at Vigevano, Bussi pursued a somewhat undistinguished career until 1451 when he became an acolyte to Pope Nicholas V. Henceforth his path lay in the service of pontiffs and cardinals, and he was named Bishop of Accia (Corsica) in 1462 by Pius II and transferred to the see of Aleria on that same island by Paul II in 1466.[3] Whether a matter of personal preference or whether he could not get away from more pressing duties, he appears never to have gone to Corsica. As an editor of classical works during a three-year association with Sweynheym and Pannartz (1469-71), he ranks among the most active scholars of the period: to him are due first editions of such authors as Apuleius, Aulus Gellius, Cicero (letters

[1] There have been well over a hundred editions of the *Civil War*. For a chronological list of the early texts see the *editio Bipontina* (1782), vol. i, pp. xxiv-xxxv and the reprint of the Delphin Classic by A. J. Valpy (London, 1819), vol. v, pp. 2045-69

[2] *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, part iv (1916), p. 7. Sweynheym and Pannartz printed their first books in 1465 at Subiaco, but by 1467 had moved to Rome and were established in the house of the Massimo.

[3] For the details of Bussi's life see Erich Meuthen, 'Briefe des Aleriensis an die Sforza', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 59 (1964), pp. 88-99.

and speeches), Livy, Lucan, Pliny the Elder, and Silius Italicus. The edition of Caesar has a general *praefatio* in place of the usual dedicatory epistle to Pope Paul; it promises numerous benefits to the reader, but does not mention that any manuscripts have been consulted. The fact that Bussi put out four other texts during the same year may have some bearing on the quality of his Caesar. This 'edition' of the *Civil War* is seemingly nothing more than a reproduction of the more common branch of the vulgate.[1] It contains a number of nonsensical readings and grammatical errors [2] which indicate that he did not exercise the editorial prerogatives of conjecture and correction as in his 1470 Pliny edition.[3] Consequently his text would have developed, at best, only the reader's ingenuity. However, apart from the obvious advantage of the greater availability of the *Commentaries*, the *editio princeps* is notable for two reasons: this strain of the vulgate became the *textus receptus* for the next four centuries and is easily recognized; the precedent for the publication of the entire corpus in a single volume was thus established, and the *Civil War* was rarely, if ever, issued separately until the end of the nineteenth century. This convention has undoubtedly contributed to the overshadowing of the text by the more famous *Gallic War*.

Two years passed before another edition appeared. In 1471 Nicholas Jenson, a native of Sommevoire near Troyes, published at Venice a text whose readings closely resemble those of the *editio princeps*. This edition, together with a reprint in 1472 by Sweynheym and Pannartz of Bussi's effort, seemed to satisfy the immediate demand for copies of the *Commentaries*, for it was not until 1477 that a third printer included Caesar among his titles — Antonius Zarotus at Milan. Having learned the trade as foreman to the Milanese printer Pamfilo Castaldi in 1471, Zarotus entered in 1472 into partnership with Gabriel de Orsonibus, Cola Montanus, and Gabriel Paveri-Fontana, but later struck out on his own. The edition of Caesar belongs to his period of independent activity. Although his text may be merely a reprint of

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1 Cf. pp. 48-49.

2 For example 1.4.4 Caesar, 15.5 Ulcillem, 18.2 Lucetio.

3 Cf. Adriana Marucchi, 'Note sul manoscritto [Vat. Lat. 5991] di cui è servito Giovanni Andrea Bussi per l'edizione di Plinio del 1470', *BIRT* 15 (1967-68), pp. 175-82. I have not succeeded in locating any manuscript of Caesar which belonged to or was corrected by Bussi.

Jenson's,[1] some novelty was provided in the form of a geographical index by the minor humanist Raimundus Marlianus and an editor's letter by Petrus Justinus Philelphus.

Zarotus' production is something of a landmark in the early period inasmuch as it generated a fair number of offspring. Philippus de Lavagna, possibly the first printer at Milan,[2] reprinted it in 1478 as did Michael Manzolus at Treviso in 1480. Both omitted the letter of Philelphus. Manzolus substituted an epistle by Hieronymus Bononius [3] (also of Treviso) and thereby completed the format for the remaining incunabula. The text of Zarotus, supplemented by the letter of Bononius and index of Marlianus, was reprinted at Venice by Octavianus Scotus, Theodorus de Ragazonibus, Philippus Pincius, and Benedictus Fontana in 1482, 1490, 1494, and 1499 respectively.

The Italian 'monopoly' of Caesar finally came to an end in 1508. In that year Balthazar de Gabiano [4] issued at Lyons what amounted to practically a straight reprint of the edition by Philippus Beroaldus which had appeared in Bologna four years previously. Italian printers, however, had no intention of abandoning the field to their French rivals: the first Giuntine of the *Civil War* was produced also in 1508 and edited by Luca della Robbia, and the first Aldine in 1513. Both contain the familiar vulgate. This is disappointing in the case of the Aldine text, for it was the work of Fra Giovanni Giocondo of Verona, an eminent figure, who advocates in his preface the study of a large number of manuscripts as opposed to the examination of a single codex. Although he traveled widely in France, he seems to have come into contact only with manuscripts imported from Italy.[5] From the viewpoint of the

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[1] *Catalogue of Books*, part vi (1930), p. 714.

[2] Ibid., pp. xx-xxi.

[3] Bononius' interest in Caesar apparently continued for some time, for he bought a manuscript of the *Commentaries* in 1493. This codex, which probably contained only the *Gallic War* (books 1-7), was dismembered and several folia now form part of Vaticanus lat. 5262 (fols. 203-209). A *nota possessoris* with the date of purchase is found on fol. 210; it obviously belongs with the preceding folia.

[4] This book does not have an imprint, and G. W. Panzer's *Annales typographici* (vol. ix, p. 109) places it among the anonymous works. It is identified as a book from the press of Balthazar de Gabiano in the British Museum's *General Catalogue of Printed Books* (vol. 31, 815) and the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (vol. 25, 874).

[5] Cf. his prefatory letter to Giuliano Medici: *Conquisivi multa tota Gallia exemplaria, qua in provincia (quod multa eo semper ex Italia translata sunt,*

history of individual codices it is a pity that he does not specify which ones he saw and collated.

The relative sameness of past editions in no way deterred or discouraged others from embarking upon a like undertaking, and for the next two hundred years the text engaged the attention of a good many scholars. The result of their efforts was principally the elucidation of historical and geographical points. Conjectures and emendations of textual problems were gradually accumulated, but they were necessitated by corrupt readings of hybrid manuscripts, and most of them have little value other than as evidence of philological techniques.[1] The ancient manuscripts containing the 'pure' strain of text which formed the basis for contaminated versions remained undiscovered for the most part, and it is curious that Renaissance transcriptions of them seem never to have found their way into the hands of editors. Vaticanus lat. 3324 (U) was probably the first of the older codices to come to their attention; Aldus [2] lists some of its readings and Fulvio Orsini was one of its owners. The latter was certainly not unaware of U's merits [3] but he was rather timid, when confronted with so many copies of the vulgate, in asserting U's superiority. Thus his edition can offer only slight textual improvement.

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atque ea minus praedae exposita ac bellis fuerunt) multo incorruptiora volumina cuiusque generis reperiuntur. Contuli omnia, diligenter excussi. For details of Giocondo's travels and scholarly activities see Lucia A. Ciapponi, 'Appunti per una biografia di Giovanni Giocondo da Verona', *IMU* 4 (1961), pp. 131-58.

[1] Scholia and commentaries on the *Civil War* were produced by Henricus Glareanus (Fribourg, 1538), Joannes Rhellicanus (Basel, 1543), Joannes Michael Brutus (Venice, 1564), Aldus Manutius (Venice, 1571), Fulvio Orsini (Antwerp, 1570), Joannes Glandorpius (Leipzig, 1574), Franciscus Hotomanus (Lyons, 1574), Joannes Sambucus (Antwerp, 1574), Petrus Ciacconius (Frankfurt, 1606), and Joannes Brantius (Frankfurt, 1606). Annotated editions include those of Arnoldus Montanus (1635), John Godwin (editor of the Delphin Classic of 1678), Dionysius Vossius (1697), John Davis (1706), and Samuel Clarke (1712).

[2] The scholia that Aldus inserted in his edition (Venice, 1571) drew sharp criticism from Joannes Brantius who accused Aldus of plagiarizing from Rhellicanus. Cf. Gothofredus Jungermannus, ed., *C. Julii Caesaris quae extant* (Frankfurt, 1606), vol. ii, p. 427. U, however, was unknown to Rhellicanus.

[3] Cf. Orsini's prefatory letter to Fabio Farnese in the *editio Plantiniana* (Antwerp, 1570): *Sed cum superioribus his diebus incidissem in Commentariorum exemplar sexcentis fere abhinc annis manuscriptum, atque illud cum vulgatis codicibus contulissem librique bonitatem in multis probassem, operae pretium me facturum sum arbitratus si quas ex optimo libro correctiones eruissem . . . in lucem proderem.* That U is indeed the codex in question is confirmed by similar entries on a fly-leaf of U and in Vaticanus lat. 7205 (fol. 26), an inventory of Orsini's library.

At the end of the seventeenth century still little could be said for the text of the *Civil War* except that the invention of printing had made it more accessible. A great step forward was taken by Franz van Oudendorp, creator of the monumental and indispensable edition of Apuleius. His 1737 edition of Caesar reveals a concern, hitherto almost unknown, with the collecting and sifting of large numbers of variants. He drew up a list of some forty codices that had been consulted (either by him or by others at his request), approximately half of which contain the *Civil War*.[1] Admittedly his text is not free of readings taken from useless manuscripts; except for Additional Ms. 10084 (L), a thirteenth-century copy of Parisinus lat. 5764 (T), and a fourteenth-century copy of Laurentianus lat. 68.8 (M), the other identifiable codices all carry the vulgate. Nevertheless Oudendorp made a valiant attempt to cope with many manuscripts, his being the first serious attempt at *recensio*.

Oudendorp's edition was so authoritative and had such an impact that, for over a hundred years, few scholars dared to tread in the same path. Those who did, like Morus and Oberlin,[2] did

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[1] *C. Julii Caesaris de bellis Gallico et civili Pompejano* (Leiden, 1737), pp. 2-7. I have been able to identify the following manuscripts: *Bongarsianus primus (Amsterdam 81), Dorvillianus (Oxford, Bodley D'Orville 9), *Dukeranus (Utrecht 732), *Egmondanus (Oxford, Bodley Holkham Misc. 34), *Gottorpiensis (Copenhagen Gl. Kgl. S. 497 fol.), Leidensis primus (Leiden B.P.L. 38D), Leidensis secundus (Leiden B.P.L. 27), *Leidensis tertius (Leiden B.P.L. 38E), Lovaniensis (London Additional Ms. 10084), *Merton College Oxoniensis (Oxford, Merton College Ms. H. 3. 8), Regius Anglicanus (London Royal 15. C. XV), *Stephanicus (Parisinus lat. 5767), *Vossianus primus (Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 53), Vossianus secundus (Leiden Voss. lat. F. 90), *Vossianus tertius (Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 8).

I am not as certain regarding the present location of the remaining codices. The Eliensis, a manuscript which belonged to John Moore, Bishop of Ely, is probably Cambridge, University Library Nn. 3. 5. Although this manuscript does not have a number which identifies it in the catalogue prepared in Moore's own lifetime, its readings correspond to those given for the Eliensis in various editions. Moreover, editors (e.g. Godwin and Davis) have assumed that the Cambridge Caesar did belong to Moore and designated it as the Eliensis. The Bouherianus primus and secundus are presumably manuscripts that belonged to Jean Bouhier. *Montpellier 333 and *Troyes 1211 were once in his possession. The codices Sambuci are perhaps Vienna 98 and 112; the former contains annotations in the hand of Joannes Sambucus and the latter his *nota possessoris*. Among the Thuanei may have been T, Parisinus lat. *5766 and *6107. The manuscripts belonging to Fulvio Orsini possibly included U, Vaticanus lat. 3322 and 3323.

An asterisk denotes those codices containing only the *Gallic War*.

[2] Sam. Fr. Nathan. Morus, *Caesaris Commentarii de bello Gallico et civili* (Leipzig, 1780); Ier. Iac. Oberlin, *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii* (Leipzig,

not deviate from his recension, and their texts, therefore, offer editorial emendations in the place of readings from new manuscripts. Achaintre and Lemaire's edition of 1819, based in large measure on the Paris codices, is of no particular value except for the attention it focused on T.[1]

The long period of relative inactivity came to an end in 1847 when the vulgate was finally banished once and for all by the appearance of the first truly critical edition. This was the work of Karl Nipperdey, a scholar who had studied with Moritz Haupt (to whom the book is dedicated) and then with Lachmann before becoming professor at Jena in 1855. In giving a formula for the mechanical determination of the reading of the archetype,[2] Nipperdey anticipated the latter's famous Lucretius edition by three years. His primitive stemma made possible the first systematic classification of codices and enabled the *Civil War* to emerge from the general confusion surrounding the corpus with a manuscript tradition of its own. Because Nipperdey's edition is the point of departure for modern editors, I outline briefly his conclusions:

1. The manuscripts are to be divided into two classes, with the number of *Wars* contained in the manuscript forming the basis of separation. Those codices which had only the *Gallic War* were designated as the α group; the β group is comprised of manuscripts with the *Gallic, Civil, Alexandrian, African,* and *Spanish Wars.*

2. The division between the two classes becomes more clear-cut when subscriptions in the manuscripts are taken into account. The name of a *corrector*, Julius Celsus Constantinus (a personage otherwise unknown), occurs at the end of the books of the *Gallic War,* and mention of another *corrector,* Flavius Licerius Firminus Lupicinus (nephew of Ennodius? [3]), is made at the end of book

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1805). Both scholars ventured to differ from Oudendorp's text only in their critical notes.

[1] Cf. vol. i, p. xxii: *Sed et illis quidem lectionibus quo fides certior haberetur, consulendos appellavimus codices duos e Bibl. Reg. Paris . . . . Thuaneus alter, n° 5764 . . . fama tantum Oudendorpio innotuerat; ad istorum fidem revocavimus (modo consentirent, quod saepe saepius accidit) quidquid dubium aut incertum relinquerent collatae inter se variae MSS. lectiones . . . .*

[2] *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii cum Supplementis A. Hirtii et aliorum* (Leipzig, 1847), p. 48.

[3] Iacobus Sirmondus conjectured that Lupicinus was the son of Euprepia, sister of Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia. Ennodius' dates are A.D. 473-521, and his 'nephew' is placed around A.D. 500 or a little later. Cf. Sirmondus' *Notae ad Ennodium* (Paris, 1611), p. 78.

2 of the same work. Both names are found only in α manuscripts.

3. The codices to be used for that part of the stemma pertaining to the *Civil War* are T, Vindobonensis 95 (V, Vindobonensis primus), B.P.L. 38D (Leidensis primus), Thott 543 (Hauniensis primus), Scaligeranus, and Cuiacianus.[1]

The importance of Nipperdey's contributions towards establishing a solid tradition can hardly be overestimated. It is obvious, of course, that his range of manuscripts was somewhat limited, knowing as he did only three of the eight now in use: T, a copy of T (the Leidensis primus), V, and U (through its *codex descriptus* Thott 543).[2] But his division of the manuscripts into two classes on the grounds of content, although it may seem simplicity itself, brought order into what had been chaos. Moreover, not many scholars would lay claim to the ability to select valuable manuscripts from a whole raft of *deteriores* with only the aid of their critical judgment. This Nipperdey dared to do, and he was apparently the first editor to use V for the *Civil War*.[3] In those places where the text was corrupt, he exercised a keen critical faculty, and a number of his emendations are still accepted. If any fault can be found with the editor and his methods, it lies chiefly in his attitude towards the β group. The lack of ancient *correctores* seemed to Nipperdey to imply a kind of textual inferiority, and he deplored the *misera atque desperata condicio* of these manuscripts. The merits of α versus β were hotly debated in succeeding years by other editors of the *Gallic War*, the contest finally ending in a draw. Unfortunately, however, the *Civil War* has continued to labor under the 'stigma' of appearing only in β manuscripts (cf. p. 66).

During the hundred years and more since the publication of Nipperdey's edition, the main task of scholars has been to increase the number of authoritative manuscripts and to refine certain aspects of the tradition. In 1885 Heinrich Meusel gave Riccardianus 541 (R) a place among the significant witnesses and constructed a stemma considerably more sophisticated than Nipperdey's, for it divided the manuscripts still further with TV constituting one

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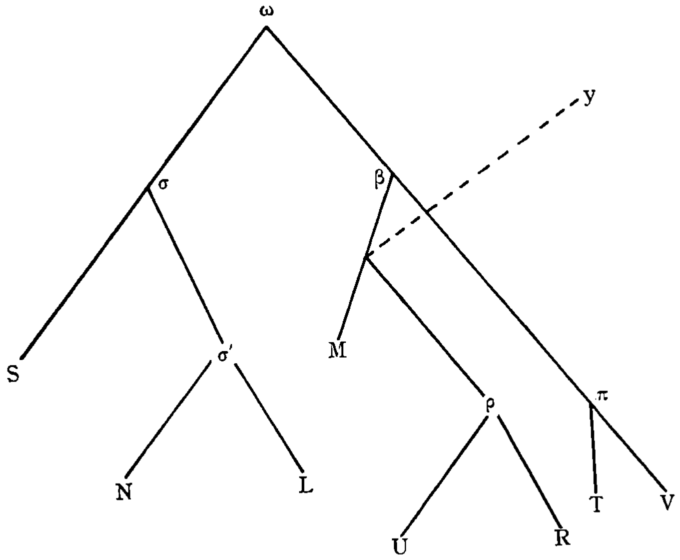
[1] Op. cit., pp. 37-48.

[2] Op. cit., p. 48. Thott 543 had been used by Elberling some years previously for his edition of the *Gallic War* (Copenhagen, 1827). I have not been able to identify the Scaligeranus and the Cuiacianus. Nipperdey (p. 43) mentions that the Scaligeranus, which belonged to Joseph Scaliger, had already disappeared. The Cuiacianus was formerly owned by Jacques Cujas.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 43-44.

branch and UR another.[1] He also demonstrated that some of the later codices were copies of older surviving exemplars. Meusel's edition of the *Gallic War* in 1894 brought to light M and Laurentianus Ashb. 33 (S); these manuscripts, along with URTV, were consulted by Bernhard Kübler for his 1894 Teubner of the *Civil War*. Four years later Alfred Holder published his edition and increased the number of manuscripts by one with the addition of L to the critical apparatus. The seven codices — SLMURTV — also formed the basis for Alfred Klotz's Teubner which appeared in 1926. The present number of eight was reached in 1936 when Pierre Fabre, editor of the Budé text, included Neapolitanus IV. c. 11 (N) in the sigla. Klotz's revised Teubner edition of 1950 takes its readings for N from Fabre and adopts his stemma as well. This is reproduced below:



With the work of Fabre and Klotz we come to the latest stage in the editing of the *Civil War*. Since 1950 interest in the study of the textual transmission has generally waned, and little of importance has been written on the subject with the exception of the note-

[1] *JPhV* 11 (1885), pp. 176-82. Cf. p. 179 for his stemma which shows T as the exemplar of B.P.L. 38D, Scaligeranus, and Cuiacianus, and U as the model for the Vratislaviensis primus (Wrocław R 58, but destroyed during the last war and containing only the *Gallic War*).

worthy monograph by Wolfgang Hering. His conclusions, together with the findings of one or two others concerned with the problem, will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

At this point I should like to single out some major questions which, until they have been answered, make it very hard to determine the value of our present texts. First, it should be obvious from the above that awareness of the older codices came slowly, and not as the fruit of a planned and well-organized investigation. No thorough search has been made of libraries for the purpose of finding ancient manuscripts, the consequence of which is a nagging suspicion that somewhere, hidden away, there is an early Caesar. The fact that a relatively early manuscript (N) was used for the first time in our own century (cf. p. 24 n. 1.) tends to confirm this worry. Such lack of industry is understandable at least on the part of earlier editors who had to cope with an abysmal dearth of manuscript catalogues. But the situation has improved greatly in this respect, and it is difficult to comprehend why there have been no modern efforts in this direction.

Equally difficult to explain is the editorial apathy when a matter of fundamentals is involved, namely the collating of the manuscripts at hand. In place of devoting some time to the codices themselves, editors have preferred to accept those readings reported in texts of the last century. Needless to say, there are a good many instances where verification would have been not only desirable but also necessary for the sake of accuracy. Again, it is probably unfair to censure the earlier scholars for their failure to conduct a personal examination, but the editions of Klotz and Fabre may not deserve similar leniency in this age of microfilm. Both editions produced by the German scholar offer a collage of readings, often erroneous, taken from various sources.[1] Fabre, on the other hand, did collate SNUT but then fell back on his predecessors for LMRV. The finished product is hardly all that it might be: by my count there are at least 250 errors in his apparatus. It seems superfluous

[1] In both editions Klotz acknowledges his indebtedness to former editors, in particular Holder, Kübler, and Meusel, for the manuscript readings. Holder collated SLMRTV and Meusel URTV and a part of M. Kübler, however, collated only T, taking the readings for M from Meusel and Rudolf Helm, for S from Meusel, for R from Enrico Rostagno and Friedrich Dübner, and for UV from Dübner. The possibility of error is obviously increased when so many second-hand sources are involved.

to observe that nothing definite can be said about the relationship of the manuscripts until they have been carefully studied.

And finally there is the matter of the *recentiores*. What role, if any, do they play in the transmission of the text? Apart from Meusel's preliminary study, nothing has been done to resolve this problem. The great majority of later manuscripts has gone unnoticed in modern times, but two fifteenth-century copies, Dresdensis 83 (now Dc 168) and 122 (now Dc 167) have been thought to be of some significance and are occasionally cited. One wonders how they managed to attract scholarly attention, for the absence of any classification forces the editor to make his selection at random. In this case it was an unlucky choice. Dresdensis 122 has a branch of the vulgate identical to that found in the *editio princeps* and the text of Dresdensis 83 is probably contaminated as well.[1] So much for the hazards faced by those who use the *recentiores* incautiously. Yet the possibility remains that a later manuscript contains readings warranting a position in the stemma, and an investigation is called for to settle the question one way or the other.

These problems I have tried to meet in several ways: by an exhaustive examination of the manuscript catalogues in the Vatican Library and correspondence with certain libraries for whose holdings there are no printed catalogues or whose catalogues were unavailable; through collations of SLNMURTV;[2] by a scrutiny of the text of all later manuscripts that were known and accessible to me. Before proceeding further, I should like to state that my search for older manuscripts of the *Civil War* has turned up one hitherto unknown witness of the twelfth century. This codex is Vallicellianus B. 45 and it is a copy of M. My reasons for suggesting that it ought to replace Laurentianus lat. 68.6 (twelfth/thirteenth century) for the missing chapters of M are given in the Appendix. I should also like to say that the *recentiores* are derived from earlier surviving exemplars, and hence the later manuscripts have no contribution, apart from an emendation here and there, to make to editors. Consequently SLNMURTV can be established as the only manuscripts to be reckoned with: they are the oldest codices and constitute either the model or the sources of all other witnesses.

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[1] Cf. pp. 54, 64.

[2] I have collated U from the original and SLNMRTV from xerox copies of negative microfilms. These codices were examined and studied in the original where the reading was in doubt or had been corrected, and for purposes of description.

A problem that awaits solution is, of course, the use of the principles of stemmatics when dealing with variant readings. This method is operative only for an uncontaminated tradition, that is, where the scribe has reproduced a single exemplar after the primary split.[1] Since this appears to be the case for the transmission of our text, it should be possible to construct a stemma which will demonstrate the interrelationship of the primary witnesses and enable us to restore the text of the archetype. The following pages are concerned with the formulation of such a stemma and the classification of the *recentiores*.

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[1] Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford, 1958), p. 3. I have generally followed his formulation of the stemmatic theory.

CHAPTER ONE

ONE BRANCH OF THE TRADITION: SLN

During the gradual development of that part of the stemma illustrating the relationship between S and L and SLN (after the inclusion of N among the authoritative manuscripts), one feature has remained constant: despite their numerous common errors and lacunae, it was generally agreed that no witness in this group served as an exemplar from which, directly or through an intermediary, the two remaining codices were derived. The one dissenting voice was that of Kübler whose stemma designated S as the archetype of LN.[1] L was provisionally assigned a place in the stemma as a copy of N. His reasons for placing N in a line of descent from S were based on an assumption by W. Müller [2] that such a genealogy was valid for the *African War*.

There have been three modern studies of SLN which I shall mention here. The first, by Karl Jax, appeared in 1934 and is concerned only with S and L. He notes the carelessness of the scribes of both manuscripts, their arbitrary conjectures and faulty knowledge of Latin, and other unendearing traits which result in a rather mangled text and make it all too easy to condemn both witnesses. Their independence, nonetheless, remained unchallenged.[3]

Similar beliefs regarding SLN were expressed twenty years later by Fabio Cupaiuolo who attempted to show more clearly the nature of the bonds uniting the three manuscripts. He accepts the premise that LN are derived from a subarchetype (σ') and observes that:

1. the scribe of L is prone to emendation, especially when it is a matter of easy and spontaneous correction;

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[1] *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii*, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1894), p. xi. L had not yet been collated, and its precise position in the stemma, as Kübler admits, was still uncertain. Cf. p. xi, n. 2: *Fluxisse eum* [L] *ex codice* S *Muellerus vidit et luce clarius patet ex iis, quae adnotavimus ad* 3, 43, 2 *et* 3, 63, 6; *sed fortasse ei locus superior in stemmate tribuendus est.* Cf. also p. x, n. 1: *Qui* [L] *quod adhuc nondum conlatus est, magnopere dolendum est.*

[2] *De Caesaris quod fertur belli Africi recensione* (Diss. Rostock, 1893), pp. 82, 89 ff.

[3] 'Die Stellung der Handschriften *S* und *L* in der Caesarüberlieferung', *WS* 52 (1934), pp. 95-105.

2. N was not copied from L because N, in the presence of an untenable reading, preserves the error while L resorts to conjecture;

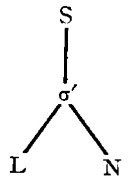
3. this phenomenon helps to explain in part the errors shared by SN against L;

4. although TV are to be placed in another branch of the stemma with MUR, they display some of the errors peculiar to SLN;

5. a possible explanation of TV's rapport with SLN might be that the exemplar preceding the immediate model of TV was a manuscript which could make use, for purposes of collation, of a codex belonging to the SLN branch;

6. LV frequently have common readings opposed to the whole tradition, and these are probably due to chance and a tendency of both scribes to make the same type of conjecture in the same passage.[1]

Finally, it has been the task of the most recent scholar to deal with the transmission of the text to build on the above and produce a revolutionary stemma. In an important and stimulating study of the manuscript tradition of the entire corpus, Wolfgang Hering has concluded that several of the witnesses utilized by modern editors should be eliminated as *descripti*. Where SLN are concerned the stemma changes to:[2]



Four reasons are given by Hering proving the derivation of LN from S. I summarize them below:

1. None of the three manuscripts has significant separative errors.

2. We have two instances where omissions in LN correspond to exactly one line in S.

3. Traces of the severe disturbances in the textual continuity of S appear likewise in LN.

4. The *bessere Lesungen* of LN are not sufficient proof of an independent transmission.

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[1] 'Osservazioni su tre manoscritti del *Bellum Civile*', *In memoriam Achillis Beltrami* (Genoa, 1954), pp. 59-67. Cf. pp. 27-28 for a discussion of the agreement of L and V.

[2] *Die Recensio der Caesarhandschriften* (Berlin, 1963), p. 50.

These arguments are clear and convincing, and as my own collations and investigation have not produced any evidence to the contrary, it seems to me that the case for S as the parent of LN is thoroughly established. I have found another point in favor of this hypothesis which was not mentioned by Hering. The entire chapter at 3.96 was omitted by LN; the former contains a blank space of several lines after 3.95 while the blank space left in N has been filled in by a *manus recens* who supplied the missing passage. The corresponding passage in S (fol. 117^v) is practically illegible because of ink blots and smears, and it is not hard to imagine the omission of this section by later copyists. Any quarrel therefore with Hering's modification of this part of the stemma must confine itself to the way in which the younger manuscripts are *specifically* related to S and to each other. The testimony provided by common errors and lacunae suggests that further precisions can be made regarding their relationship.[1] I do not wish to nitpick, but it seems to me that a detailed examination of the matter is warranted if only for the reason that so few older witnesses have survived. The *Civil War* was not a widely-read work in the Middle Ages; unlike the *Gallic War* it was apparently never consulted by medieval writers.[2] The scarcity of ancient texts—there are no ninth-century manuscripts as in the case of the *Gallic War*—demands that we look closely at our extant representatives. Moreover, in this instance what the scribes have to tell us about their craft is instructive. With the preceding as an apology for attempting to unravel the genealogical complexities of two *codices descripti*, I propose now to explore at some

[1] Hering's stemma has as its basis readings from the *apparatus critici* of Fabre and Klotz. These *apparatus* are necessarily brief and do not tell the whole story. I have already pointed out (p. 9) that they are often inaccurate, and Hering (p. v) is also of this opinion.

[2] Cf. M. Manitius, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Prosaiker im Mittelalter', *Philologus* 48 (1889), pp. 567-70. Nearly all the medieval authors who quote Caesar are French or German or lived in those countries. They cite only passages from the *Gallic War*, and the popularity of this work may derive, at least in part, from a spirit of nationalism since those sections pertaining specifically to the geography and customs of Gaul and Germany were usually excerpted. I have not been able to find any real use of the *Civil War* until the fourteenth century despite the number of texts that have appeared since the publication of Manitius' article. Caesar's struggle with Pompey was known to the Middle Ages but indirectly (and principally) through the accounts of Lucan and Suetonius. Curiously enough, the *Gallic War* remained unknown in Britain until the twelfth century; cf. J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English, 597-1066* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 103.

length the dependence of LN on S. I also hope to draw some conclusions which, even if they cannot be proven beyond the shadow of a doubt because of missing manuscripts, are nonetheless reasonable and could account for what really happened.

I. *The Relationship of* L *to* N

The crucial point in determining the relationship of L to N has to do with the date of the manuscripts. N has been generally assigned to the twelfth/thirteenth century;[1] it was written by several scribes. On the basis of an eleventh-century date assigned to L,[2] the possibility of its being copied from N is thereby neatly excluded. Because of the lacunae peculiar to L, of which the most egregious examples are the omissions at 2.18.1 *frumenti . . . mitteret* (eleven words) and 3.50.2 *quibus . . . facerent* (thirteen words), the reverse is also true. As the dates now stand, the assumptions drawn from them are legitimate; until the grounds for their formulation are changed, they are also immune to attack. In that direction lies the chink in the armor since the nineteenth-century dating of the manuscripts has never been questioned. Thanks to modern advances in the study of script, N may now be attributed to the eleventh century and L to the end of that century or the beginning of the twelfth.[3]

Thus we have a new slant on the problem, and there is another significant piece of information. More than 200 errors common to LN, approximately 75 common transpositions, and a hundred or so common omissions have emerged as the result of my collations;[4] these figures are unusually large and highly suspicious in a relatively short text like the *Civil War.* Two alternatives are possible: either L and N are both faithful copies of σ′ or L is a copy of N. In the light of the evidence, the latter appears to be more likely, but to establish with certainty that one manuscript is a copy of another is sometimes difficult, especially if it involves a manu-

[1] Pierre Fabre, *César, La guerre civile,* vol. i (Paris, 1936), p. xlv; Alfred Klotz, *C. Iuli Caesaris Commentarii,* 2nd ed. rev., vol. ii (Leipzig, 1957), p. iii.

[2] Alfred Holder, *C. Iuli Caesaris belli civilis libri III* (Leipzig, 1898), p. vi; Kübler, op. cit., p. x, n. 1; Fabre, op. cit., p. xliv; Klotz, op. cit., p. iii.

[3] I have to thank Professors Bernhard Bischoff and Giulio Battelli for their help in dating and placing the manuscripts.

[4] Since there is always the possibility of human fallibility, the figures given here (and elsewhere in this study) could change slightly in either direction. I do not think, however, that I have missed any significant facts which would affect the validity of the conclusions.

script of the third generation, that is, a copy of a copy of a copy. These facts, however, lend substance to speculation that N is the parent of L:

1. There is one example in L (fol. 68) of a lacuna corresponding to a single line in N (fol. 80v), namely the omission at 1.63.1 of *et cum . . . coniungunt*. The line in N immediately preceding the omitted passage also ends in *-unt*, a coincidence which suggests that homoeoteleuton was responsible for the loss. Furthermore, the difference in the number of omissions found only in L and those peculiar to N is rather striking, and demonstrates that the reputation of N as a 'worse' manuscript than L in this respect is completely undeserved. I count more than 60 omissions in L as against 14 for N, those belonging to L being of a much graver nature. The number of omissions in N, however, dwindles to 6 when corrections made by the scribe or a contemporary hand are taken into account. His erroneous alterations appear as the reading of L. The following list indicates that the lacunae peculiar to N should not be regarded as unduly significant on the grounds of obscurity, for, if another manuscript were copied from N, the scribe making the copy could have easily supplied the missing words:

1.15.6 *pervenit*] *tendit* L, om. N; 1.19.4 *fuisset*] *esset* L, om. N; 1.20.4 *fuga*; 1.21.3 *his* LNc, om. N; 1.25.10 *earum* LNc, om. N; 1.33.2 *urbe in* LNc, om. N; 1.38.1 *Varro* LNc, om. N; 1.43.1 *fere* LNc, om. N; 1.82.1 *pars* LNc, om. N; 2.9.6 *est*; 2.32.8 *nonne*] *non* LNc, om. N; 3.15.6 *de maximis*] *maximis de* L, *de* om. N; 3.41.3 *aut*; 3.102.6 *periculo* LNc, om. N.

These instances are quite clear and do not require detailed analysis, but a few remarks may be made in passing. It should be noted that L attempts to fill the gap with *tendit* and *esset*, but the respective substitutes are both faulty. The *de* supplied by L is correct, but its position constitutes a *lectio singularis*. Some emendations would present little difficulty to a scribe because of the widespread use of the construction in question; L supplies a missing *aut* of the familiar *aut . . . aut. non*, a conjecture by the *corrector* of N, is wrong and also appears in L. The insertion of *periculo* at the wrong place is his doing as well, and the mistake is repeated by L.

2. N is evidently the handiwork of several scribes, none of whom was particularly careful. Consequently it is difficult to imagine the text of N as a faithful copy of σ'; L, apparently the

work of a single scribe (through 3.97.5, fol. 90^{v}) would have at least a better than even chance of reporting accurately the readings of σ′, and hence of S. Yet L has many more readings in common with N than with S,[1] and I have found no decisive *Trennfehler* of L against N or N against L. There is also this point to be noticed: N has been heavily corrected and over 150 of these emendations appear as the reading of L. L has incorporated even the wrong conjectures proposed by N^{2}, for example 2.15.1 *congesticius*] *congestius* N, *congestus* LN^{c}; 3.27.2 *constratae*] *contrate* N, *contracte* LN^{c}; 3.36.3 *ibi muniri iussit*] *muniri ibi iussit* LN^{c}, *muniri iussit ibi* N. On the other side of the coin, LN^{c} give the right reading against S in at least 25 places where SN were originally in error. Although this matter will be discussed in subsequent pages, it may be well to state here that such corrections do not indicate as their source a manuscript deriving from an independent tradition. There is no attempt to alter passages common to all the older extant codices and involving several layers of corruption. The following sampling of corrected errors is proof of this, and illustrates the level of emendation at which N^{2} operated:

1.86.1 *aliquid* LN^{c}, *aliqui* SN; 2.12.4 *quin* LN^{c}, *qui in* SN; 2.16.2 *consistendi* LN^{c}, *consistendis* SN; 2.18.1 *alarias* LN^{c}, *alarius* SN; 2.21.1 *contione* LN^{c}, *contentione* SN; 2.28.3 *largitionis* LN^{c}, *largionis* SN; 3.1.4 *ambitus* LN^{c}, *ambitis* SN; 3.4.3 *numerum* LN^{c}, *numerus* SN; 3.17.5 *legatos* LN^{c}, *legittos* SN; 3.30.3 *die* LN^{c}, *diei* SN; 3.60.3 *discedere* LN^{c}, *discere* SN.

3. The palaeography of the two manuscripts suggests that N was written in France and L at Gembloux. L's dependence upon N,

[1] L agrees very rarely with S against N, whether it is a matter of an error or a correct reading. For example, there are more than 200 errors peculiar to LN while SL share only about 10 trifling mistakes. SL generally give the right reading against N when orthographical variants are involved.

therefore, would not be prohibited or impossible by reason of isolation.

These are the arguments for the descent of L from N, and I think they permit the altering of Hering's stemma to the above on p. 17.

II. *The Relationship of* N *to* S

S is a manuscript with a rather untidy appearance; it has a fluctuating number of lines to a page and some half-lines, and is probably a page-by-page copy of its exemplar.[1] Changes of hand at the beginning of quaternions are found on fols. 95, 103, and 109. The policy of parceling out among several scribes various folia of S's model was not entirely successful because of the ensuing confusion in continuity. The text of S runs normally until 1.79.4 when *incitati cursu* (fol. 90) is immediately followed by 2.19.3 *vigiliasque in turribus* with no warning from the scribe that something is amiss. The narrative continues from 2.19.3 through 3.43.2 *pompeium instituit* (end of fol. 102^{v}); once again there is an inversion and 1.79.4 *sese in valles* begins fol. 103. This portion of the text goes to 2.18.5 *rebus fave-* (end of fol. 108^{v}). Fol. 109 commences with 3.48.2 *ut spem eorum* and the text finishes (fol. 121) without further difficulty.

The situation is perhaps better described by means of an outline:

fols. 74-90 (line 3)	1.1.1 *litteris a fabio* . . . 1.79.4 *incitati cursu*
fols. 90 (line 3)-102^{v} (end)	2.19.3 *vigiliasque in turribus* . . . 3.43.2 *pompeium instituit*
fols. 103-108^{v} (end)	1.79.4 *sese in valles* . . . 2.18.6 *rebus fave-*
fols. 109-121	3.48.2 *ut spem eorum* . . . 3.112.12 *belli alexandrini fuerunt*

One can only guess at the specific reason for the disarrangement. After fol. 88, the scribe appears to lose all interest in making a page-by-page copy and concentrates instead on producing continuously written folia. The page of his exemplar that corresponded to fol. 90 in S may have contained only a few lines, and rather than leave blank in his copy almost the whole page, he filled it up with the wrong section and persisted in his error to the end of the gathering (fol. 94^{v}). The next two gatherings, each written by a different scribe (fols. 95-102^{v}, 103-108^{v}), also contribute to the confusion.

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[1] This is the suggestion of Cesare Paoli, *Indici e Cataloghi*, vol. viii (Rome, 1887), p. 7.

Whatever the exact cause of the trouble, it is evident that the disturbance in (L)N is not nearly so severe. Although there is a lacuna at 1.79.4 from *rei inquirebatur* through *incitati cursu*,[1] there is no inversion and the text proceeds smoothly through 2.19.3 *custodias* when the missing lines from 1.79.4 are then inserted.[2] The scribes return to 2.19.3 with *vigiliasque in turribus* and record the rest of the text in normal fashion with the exception of 3.43.2 *pompeium instituit* . . . 3.48.2 *ut spem eorum* which is still missing. Instead of the confusion involving a large number of folia, (L)N contain only the displacement of a few lines from the first book, a mistake which was not made unwittingly. For (L)N have a blank space of approximately a line before the passage that is out of order, and it may not be wide of the mark to suppose that the copyist of σ′, uncertain at the time as to the correct course, left room for an addition. This space was never filled in for the obvious reason that very little could be done barring a transferral of the lines to their proper position. As far as lacunae are concerned, the lengthy omission in the third book must have occupied a folium which was lost either in S or its exemplar. The lines of the second book which are lacking in S (2.18.6 *-re cognoverat* . . . 19.3 *custodias*) are found in (L)N; a plausible explanation for their reappearance is that the page missing in S after fol. 108 contained this passage and was still in place when the copy was made.

There is something puzzling about the restoration of near normal continuity in the text of (L)N. Would the native acumen of the scribe of σ′ have been sufficient to set things right again? As the situation seems a difficult one to remedy, especially on fol. 90 of S, the possibility emerges that the copyist had access, for purposes of correction, to another manuscript which I shall call x. If the testimony of (L)N indicates that x actually existed and carried an independent strain of text, then this manuscript, together with N, should be included in the stemma. Otherwise N's claim to stemmatic value is based solely on the fact that it preserves the passage of book 2 which is missing in S.[3]

We would normally expect a manuscript of a different branch or tradition to reveal itself through distinctive readings, and I should now like to examine the text of (L)N for confirmation of this sort.

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1 L, fol. 70; N, fol. 83.

2 L, fol. 74ᵛ; N, fol. 88ᵛ.

3 L, as a copy of N, naturally has no stemmatic value.

To begin with the evidence of omissions. Although it seems likely that a folium now lost from S supplied the lacuna at 2.18.6-19.3, conceivably x could have been used for this and similar gaps. Its efficacy in this respect, however, is not immediately apparent, since there are approximately a hundred omissions in S that are also common to (L)N, including at least twelve passages in which seven or more words were left out.[1] But there are some omissions in S which have been filled in more or less by (L)N, and they are the following:

2.1.1 *ad*; 3.11.4 *se*] *cum* (L)N, om. S; 3.15.1 *in*; 3.22.3 *atque*] *et* (L)N, om. S; 3.27.2 *ut* (L)N^c^, om. SN; 3.53.4 *-que*] *et* (L)N, om. S; 3.74.3 *et*] *-que* (L)N, om. S; 3.99.2 *fecimus* (L)N, *-cimus* om. S; 3.110.5 *alios alios* (L)N, *alios* S.

This list is not difficult to assess: its length is not very impressive, and the nature of the omissions is even less so. The majority comprise common connectives and prepositions whose insertion by the scribe need not require more than a modicum of skill on his part, and consequently they incur the suspicion of being conjectures. The double *alios* is clearly right and is not found in any other manuscript, but it is also liable to spontaneous and easy correction. The last instance but one deserves a brief explanation. Half a word, thirteen words, and another half a word are omitted by S at 3.99.2-99.3 starting with *(fe)cimus* and ending with *dixe(rat)*. The omission in (L)N begins half a word later with *gladio* and goes through *dixerat*. The scribe of σ', instead of writing S's *ferat* as he would be bound to do if he were copying mechanically, supplied the missing part of the first verb. This he could easily provide from the context; Caesar has just referred to the bravery of Crastinus whose exhortation to the soldiers before the battle is recorded in 3.91 and the meaning of *cuius mentionem supra fe-* is plain. Once the correction had been made, the scribe would then discard the nonsensical *-rat*.

To turn to the evidence of variants. More than 300 errors and 18 transpositions peculiar to S(L)N attest to the fact that x was certainly no panacea for all the maladies of S. Some indication that x was used can perhaps be found in the correction of those errors which appear only in S. That these slips do not show up in (L)N in

[1] Cf. 1.6.1, 1.6.3, 1.40.5, 1.45.3-47.3, 1.74.4, 2.1.1, 2.24.4, 2.31.6, 3.5.3, 3.13.2, 3.30.6, 3.60.5-61.1. The omission of 3.43.2-48.2 has already been noted.

more than a hundred instances seems to point to x's helping hand. A close inspection, however, reveals that passages corrupt in the entire tradition have been left untouched and that there is no really egregious emendation.[1] The mistakes in S that have been corrected by the scribe of σ′ consist of the usual misspellings, haplography, dittography, wrong separation of words, etc., in short, nothing that could not be rectified *currente calamo*. Some examples are:

1.15.2 *cupidissime* (L)N, *cudispisime* S; 1.74.3 *ordinum* (L)N, *ordinorum* S; 1.84.2 *negatum* (L)N, *negratum* S; 2.6.3 *vis eminus* (L)N, *vi seminus* S; 2.26.4 *legiones* (L)N, *glegiones* S; 2.37.4 *materiam* (L)N, *materia* S; 2.41.6 *integri* (L)N, *integris* S; 3.1.2 *possessionum* (L)N, *possessioneim* S; 3.7.2 *occurrit* (L)N, *occurit* S; 3.64.3 *defendi* (L)N, *difendi* S; 3.79.6 *Gallia* (L)N, *Galia* S.

Nor do the readings of (L)N preferred by editors to those of other manuscripts carry much weight. Hering concludes, and rightly so, that they are nothing more than successful conjectures,[2] and I give below his list of these *bessere Lesungen* with some additions of my own marked by an asterisk:

*1.31.3 *valetudine* (L)N, *valitudine* N^{c}MURV, *valitudinem* ST; 1.43.1 *passuum* (L)N, *passum* SM, *pass̄* UR, om. TV; 3.15.1 *in* (L)N, om. SMURTV; *3.15.6 *si sibi* (L)N, *si sibi eius* SMUR, *si ei* T, *si* V; *3.22.2 *periit* (L)N, *perit* SMURTV; 3.27.1 *recipiebat* (L)N^{c}, *reiciebat* SNMURTV; 3.27.2 *detraheretur* (L)N, *distraheretur* SMURTV; 3.36.4 *cot(t)i* (L)N, *cottis* SMURTV; *3.38.1 *passuum* (L)N, *pass̄* R, *pas̄* UT, *pas* SM, *passus* V; *3.40.1 *plurimis* (L)N, *pluribus* SMUTV, *multis* R; 3.63.1 *pedum* (bis) (L)N, *ped̄* SMURT, *pedes* V; *3.72.4 *communis* (L)N, *communes* MURV, *communi* ST; 3.84.2 *primum* (L)N, *primus* SMURV, *primo* T; 3.102.7 *suam* (L)N, *suas* SMURTV; *3.103.4 *despicerent* (L)N, *despiserent* S, *despiceret* MURTV; 3.104.2 *achillam* (L)N, *achillam in* SMURTV; *3.110.5 *alios alios* (L)N, *alios* SMURTV; *3.112.2 *passuum* (L)N, *pass̄* MRT, *pas̄* U, *pas·* S, *passus* V; *3.112.3 *consueverunt* (L)N, *consuerunt* SMURTV.

There is still another argument which may be introduced on behalf of x, that is, that a new manuscript might betray its pres-

[1] Editors have rejected the readings of all the manuscripts in nearly 500 places. For a list of conjectures see the *tabula coniecturarum* in H. Meusel's *Lexicon caesarianum*, vol. II. 2 (Berlin, 1893), pp. 37-93.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 51-52. Hering's list contains several instances where LNV give the right reading because he considers V a *codex descriptus* and consequently of no value for the text. Since I believe V to be an independent witness (cf. p. 28), I have modified his list so as to give only those places where (L)N furnish the 'preferred reading' against SMURTV.

ence through unusual, though not necessarily right or wrong, readings. Two distinct tendencies which are not apparent in S do crop up among the variants of (L)N: substituting for a word another word of a similar meaning or sound, and adding to a word or phrase. It would be too tedious to list the sixty-odd examples that I have found, and I give such typical instances as:

SUBSTITUTIONS 1.2.3 *ad urbem*] *in urbem* (L)N; 1.2.8 *dixit*] *dicit* (L)N; 1.7.3 *nudata*] *privatum* (L)N; 1.8.3 *necessitudinibus*] *necessitatibus* (L)N; 1.30.2 *legionibus*] *legatis* (L)N; 3.15.1 *demonstratum est*] *diximus* (L)N; 3.21.5 *oppidi*] *vici* (L)N; 3.32.5 *consuevit*] *solet* (L)N; 3.56.4 *urbes*] *civitates* N (*-tem* L); 3.86.5 *in posterum*] *in proelium* (L)N; 3.98.2 *lenitate*] *mansuetudine* (L)N; 3.109.3 *legatos*] *ministros* (L)N.

ADDITIONS 1.13.4 *commisso*] *commissoque* (L)N; 1.40.7 *c. fabius*] *consul fabius* (L)N; 1.63.3 *equites*] *illi equites* (L)N; 2.23.3 *pedibus*] *pedibusque* (L)N; 2.35.3 *fuga*] *in fuga* (L)N; 3.16.5 *noceret*] *nocere posset* (L)N; 3.29.3 *nuntiosque*] *nuntios quoque* (L)N; 3.107.2 *convenire*] *convenire sciebat* (L)N.

Here too the evidence for the existence of x is inconclusive, for the above readings have not improved the text in any significant way that would suggest a codex of independent stemmatic value. Instead they appear to stem from the scribe's penchant for recording a *lectio facilior*. He tries to make the Latin less abrupt and more fulsome by inserting transitional words and prepositions, and by expanding verbs or infinitives. The proximity of similar words or letters probably caused the substitutions of *dicit* and *legatis*. As for *proelium*, the copyist might well expect Pompey to end his harangue by urging the troops to be prepared for battle (*animo parati in proelium*) rather than for the next day (*in posterum*), especially since a reference to *dimicandi potestas* follows immediately. These are obvious explanations, and it would not be difficult to handle all such cases in the same manner. I do not think we ought to fear that important data may be overlooked by this hasty dismissal; many scribes, consciously or unconsciously, introduce interpolations into the text, and the *lectiones singulares* of (L)N are so clearly of this type as to obviate the necessity of a detailed treatment.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the existence of x cannot be discounted altogether. A copyist who relied on S alone would have faced real, and very probably insuperable, obstacles in establishing the nearly accurate order of the narrative as it appears in (L)N. Consequently one can hardly avoid postulating the existence of a

manuscript which served this purpose. But there is no reason to insist upon the existence of useless manuscripts, and so I raise the question: why posit an intermediary σ′ between S and its offspring if L, as I have suggested, is a copy of N? After all, this hypothetical codex owes its origin to the belief that L and N were derived independently from a common exemplar. Once the descent of L from N is accepted, σ′ loses much, if not all, of its former importance.

The simplest and most logical solution to the problem is, I think, to assume that N was copied from S in the same scriptorium where the exemplar of S, which I shall call θ, was still preserved. In this way the scribes of N would have had access to another manuscript more or less in order,[1] and the identical strain of text would clear up the mystery of why there are no significant new readings in (L)N. S, like N, is the product of a French scribe, and the scarcity of early texts of the *Civil War* does not argue against the location of θ and S in the same place where N was copied. I propose therefore the elimination of σ′, and the stemma will take this form:

The conclusions that I have drawn in this chapter are not exactly new; they were formulated, albeit somewhat tentatively, more than seventy-five years ago by Kübler who did not use, and

[1] The confusion in S could not be the result of a similar situation in θ; otherwise it would also appear in N. Just how much in order θ was is, of course, impossible to say, but it is likely that only 1.79.4 *rei inquirebatur . . . incitati cursu* was out of place. This passage may have occupied a folium or half-folium of θ and could have been transferred to another part of the text by the time that N was copied. Hering suggests (p. 49) that the scribe of σ′, with S before him, changed the order of the folia and copied respectively fols. 89, 103-108, 90 of S. But this does not answer the question of *how* he would have known *where* to put fols. 103-108.

probaby never even consulted, either L or N.[1] It would be interesting to know if his stemma was the result of a lucky guess, or if he possessed that rare and penetrating judgment enabling him to see his way through a maze of manuscripts. Since he used contaminated manuscripts, the former is almost certainly the case.

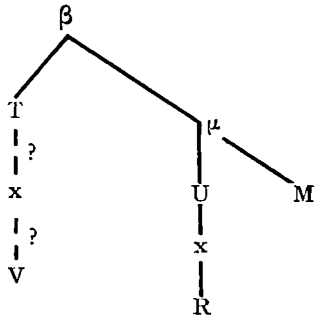
[1] After the appearance of this text, N seems to have dropped completely out of the picture until it was used by Domenico Bassi in 1920 for his edition of the *Gallic War* and by Fabre in 1936 for the *Civil War*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE OTHER MANUSCRIPTS: MURTV

The remaining witnesses for the *Civil War* are M (tenth/eleventh century), U (eleventh/twelfth century), R (twelfth century), T (eleventh century), and V (twelfth century). URT appear to have been written in France, M in Italy, and V at the Monastery of SS. Matthew and Eucharius in Trier. There is no disorder in continuity in any of these manuscripts, and their textual variants are such that different degrees of kinship can be clearly determined: MUR comprise one group, TV another, m supplies 1.1-33 missing in M.

The established stemma [1] for this part of the tradition has been radically altered by Hering. Once again he reduces the number of manuscripts by two in maintaining the opposite of the usual contention that R and V are derived, but not copied from, the same source as U and T respectively. Thus his stemma changes to:[2]



I think that this evaluation of R as a *codex descriptus* is correct.[3] I have found no errors or lacunae in R that could be attributed to a

[1] Cf. p. 8.

[2] Hering, op. cit., pp. 53-55.

[3] The question of R's dependence upon U was discussed, perhaps for the first time, by Meusel and Ramorino at the end of the last century. See F. Ramorino, 'Il Cesare Riccardiano 541', *RIFC* 18 (1890), pp. 250-85, in which he argues that R is copied from U. In the following year there was an exchange of letters between Ramorino and Meusel, and Ramorino, at the latter's urging, reconsidered several passages from the *Gallic War* which led him to adopt Meusel's viewpoint of an independent derivation of both codices from a common exemplar. See 'De caesarianibus codicibus Riccardiano *541* et Vaticano *3324* (Ursiniano). Epistolae Henrici Meusel et Felicis Ramorini', ibid. 19 (1891), pp. 127-33.

physical defect of U, nor any omissions of single lines,[1] but several instances of marginalia in U appear either in R's text or margin. They are: 1.16.1 *firmo* UR, *·a· oppido* in marg. UR; 1.18.4 *primis* U, *·a· tribus* in marg. U, *·a· tribus primis* R; 1.57.4 *eorum* U, *eodem* in marg. U, *leorum eodem* R; 1.58.1 *detergere* in marg. U, *deterrere* U, *ldetergere deterrere* R. Moreover, U contains no separative errors of any importance. The few omissions occurring in U (but not in R)—3.75.5 *-que,* 76.3 *-que,* 78.5 *sibi*—are subject to easy correction and the same may be said of the handful of transpositions.[2] The scribe of R was a meticulous copyist, and his text agrees with U in nearly every respect. Since both manuscripts were written in France,[3] he may have had access to U itself, or he may have reproduced a copy of U. Those places where he reports the correct reading and U is in error may be due to this intermediary or to his own skill in conjecture. In any case, they are not important because M and other manuscripts have the same readings. There is no point, then, in placing R in the stemma.

The case is not as straightforward when it comes to the relationship of TV. Hering puts forward a list of V's *bessere Lesungen* to substantiate his claim that it is a *descriptus,* and concludes that they are unimportant.[4] The following is a corrected and more complete list of these readings:

1.20.1 *primo* V, *prima* SmUT; 1.34.5 *portas classem* V, *portas clausem* MUT, *portas clausim* S, *portas clause* $M^{c}U^{c}$; 1.60.4 *cohors illurgavonensis* V, *cohors lurgavonensis* MUT, *cohorilurga vonensis* S; 1.72.4 *digreditur* V, *degreditur* MUT, *degretur* S; 1.87.4 *fufium* V, *fufeium* SMUT; 2.36.1 *oppido* V($M^{\text{man. rec.}}$), *oppidum* SMUT; 3.5.3 *classi scribonius* V($M^{\text{man. rec.}}$), *classis scribonius* T, *classis cribonius* MU, *-bonius* S; 3.15.3 *corcyra* V, *corcyram* SMUT; 3.28.4 *conspectu* V, *conspectum* SMUT; 3.29.1 *otacilius* V, *octacilius* UT, *ottavilius* M, *octalicius* S; 3.31.4 *summamque in sollici-*

[1] Hering (op. cit., p. 21) notes that R has omitted a section at 5.24.7-8 of the *Gallic War* which corresponds to a line of U; the *corrector* then wrote the missing words in the margin but did not know where they belonged in the text.

[2] 1.6.7 *omnia contra*; 1.23.4 *esse publicam*; 1.47.2 *omnium esse*; 2.19.1 *praesto esse*; 3.109.3 *iussit esse.*

[3] UR are assigned to France on palaeographical grounds. U may have belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Martin-de-Massay (diocese of Bourges), for it contains on fols. 111^{v}-112 an inventory of the books of that monastery, one of the entries being the 'historia iulii cesaris'. The list was published by Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* vol. ii (Paris, 1874), pp. 441-43.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 53-54.

tudinem ac timorem V, *summaque in sollicitudine ac timore* SMUT; 3.32.2 *modo* V, *modi* SMUT; 3.38.2 *magnam* V, *magnamque* SMUT; 3.40.2 *ex* V, *et* SMUT; 3.40.3 *abduxit* V, *adduxit* SMUT; 3.41.1 *parthinorum* V, *partinorum* SMUT; 3.46.5 *egerunt* V, *gerunt* MUT, om. S; 3.47.3 *inferiore* V, *inferiores* MUT, om. S; 3.53.4 *periculique* V, *periculi* SMUT, *periculo* M^{c}; 3.59.1 *in* V, *ex* MU, om. ST; 3.61.3 *varia diligentia* V($M^{man. rec.}$), *vera diligentia* S, *iuri adiligentia* T, *viria diligentia* M, *viriam diligentiam* U; 3.67.1 *confirmaverunt* V, *confirmaverant* SMUT; 3.67.5 *eo* V, *e* SMUT; 3.73.4 *fortunam* V($M^{man. rec.}$), *fortuna* SMUT; 3.80.1 *gomphos* V, *gonphos* MUT, *gimphos* S; 3.80.4 *exercituum* V($M^{man. rec.}$), *exercitum* MUT, *exercitus* S; 3.102.7 *ut* V($M^{man. rec.}$), om. SMUT; 3.105.5 *tympana* V, *tymphana* SMU, *timphana* T; 3.111.5 *illi* V, *ille* SMUT.

It is quickly apparent that the above instances *per se* are not strong indications of independent derivation. Some would not even be noted in the apparatus, and, at best, they involve a change of two or three letters and so incur the suspicion of being conjectures. Nevertheless, the matter of V's parentage is still debatable because of the evidence furnished by omissions. Granted that there are approximately 40 lacunae common to TV, and a few are rather lengthy,[1] two omissions in T of eight words (1.72.2) and twenty-five words (3.89.3-4) are not found in V. V, for its part, is certainly not free from omissions, but out of the 140 or so instances, there are none which correspond to a single line of T, the alleged model. Likewise, there are no marginalia in T which show up in V and thereby give currency to such a dependence.

Relevant to the problem at hand is Cupaiuolo's observation of the agreement between L and V in a rather large number of places for witnesses of different branches.[2] It could be argued that the exemplar of V was T with the secondary use of L, or that V was copied from the same exemplar as T and then corrected with the aid of L, with either process accounting for the absence of the graver omissions in T. The nature of the resemblances between L and V demands great caution in opting for either hypothesis. As Cupaiuolo does not elaborate on this point, I list as many examples as I could find of common preferred readings and omissions, and a fair number of typical agreements in error:

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[1] For example, 3.49.2 *non bona cum angustiis loci et odore taetro ex multitudine* and 3.109.5 *accepto vulnere occupatus per suos pro occiso sublatus alter.* These passages probably constituted single lines that were omitted through homoeoteleuton by the scribe of the exemplar of TV.

[2] Op. cit., p. 67.

PREFERRED READINGS 1.72.4 *digreditur*] *degreditur* MUT, *degretur* S; 3.22.4 *habebant*] *habebat* SMUT; 3.28.1 *lissum*] *lisum* SMUT; 3.34.2 *thessaliam*] *thessalum* SMU, *thesalum* T; 3.36.1 *legationes*] *legiones* SMUT; 3.54.2 *obstructis*] *obstruxit* ST, *extructis* MU; 3.64.3 *exercitu*] *exercitum* SMUT; 3.95.1 *intra*] *inter* SMUT.

OMISSIONS 2.25.7 *rerum*; 3.109.3 *ex*.

ERRORS 1.28.4 *quae*] *que* LV; 1.68.2 *traderentur* SMUTV, *traherentur* LV^c; 2.14.1 *contectaque*] *coniectaque* LV; 2.19.1 *praegreditur*] *progreditur* LV, om. S; 2.23.2 *promunturiis* SM, *promuntoriis* UT, *promunctoriis* LV; 3.99.5 *eum*] *ei* LV.

When it is a matter of dealing with twelfth-century manuscripts, there is always a possibility of contamination, but the evidence is simply not sufficient to show that this is the case. The insignificant preferred readings of LV and their indecisive common errors and omissions oblige us to follow the lead of Cupaiuolo in attributing them to chance and conjecture. Since V appears not to have had access to another manuscript, it follows that the scribe of V must have copied T's exemplar and with better results in the case of those passages which T omitted. Consequently, even if V's contribution to the editing of the text is less than startling, I do not think that it should be removed from the stemma.[1] And in another way, V does have a certain function to fulfill according to the principles of stemmatics. When T is in error (and this occurs about 200 times), V gives the right reading with another branch of the tradition. Its role is not so much to produce new and 'better' readings as to aid in the reconstruction of the text of the archetype, thereby illustrating the operation and certainty of the stemmatic method.

Now that the relationships between manuscripts of the same subdivision have been clarified, we are in a position to discuss their respective places in the stemma. Previously MU(R) and TV had been assigned to the same branch of a bipartite stemma; if this classification is valid, one would expect MUTV to agree more often with each other than with S, and to exhibit common omissions.

To begin with the latter, these are all the omissions shared by MUTV that are known to me:

1.25.9 *ne* m^man. rec.^, *et re* S, om. mUTV; 1.36.3 *si*; 1.39.2 *et fortissimo*; 1.40.1 *diebus* SM^man. rec.^, om. MUTV; 1.41.5 *opus*; 1.64.6 *arrepta*; 1.68.2 *ut*; 3.75.1 *impedimenta*.

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[1] When all is said and done, V may be a manuscript that has been excessively underrated. Cf. p. 75 where I have chosen one of its readings.

Some brief observations will suffice to make this none too large list even smaller. 1.25.9 *ne* was undoubtedly omitted in the archetype, and S makes a futile attempt to fill the gap. Hering suggests (pp. 62-63) that the archetype also lacked *et fortissimo* (1.39.2), *opus* (1.41.5), and *diebus* (1.40.1); S supplies the first two with unnecessary diligence while the last was needed and could be easily conjectured. Except for *arrepta* and *impedimenta*, the remaining instances consist of small words likely to be passed over by the copyist. 1.64.6 *arrepta* has puzzled many editors, and it is by no means certain that we should be thankful to find this reading in S. *abrepta*, *abrepti*, and *ablati* have been suggested as emendations.[1] 3.75.1 *impedimenta* appears therefore to be the most significant omission common to MUTV in the entire text. Surely this number is rather small to postulate a close relationship for MUTV, and S could, in any case, have provided a substantive to go with the *omnia* immediately following.

The point is this: there are serious lacunae in the traditional MUTV grouping, but they are peculiar to TV.

With respect to the *Bindefehler* of MUTV, it need only be said that in order to be decisive they must be significant. Therein lies the difficulty. Maas defines a conjunctive error as an error common to two manuscripts and of such a nature that it is highly improbable that each committed it independently of the other.[2] If such a mistake is found, it unquestionably unites those manuscripts against a third which does not contain it. Outside the realm of the 'highly improbable', if they occur in all the manuscripts, are mistakes involving orthography, dittography, haplography, confusions of vowels and diphthongs, in short, the errors encountered regularly by palaeographers. On the other hand, the incorporation of marginalia from one codex into another causing an interruption in sense or continuity, ludicrous transcriptions of common abbreviations, inexplicable and grave confusions of words, etc., if they occur in only a few manuscripts, *are* highly improbable. With this distinction in mind, I should like to put the proposed MUTV relationship to a test. They share approximately 75 errors of which the following are typical:

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[1] Cf. Klotz's edition and the *tabula coniecturarum* in vol. II. 2, p. 49 of the *Lexicon caesarianum*.

[2] Op. cit., p. 43.

1.1.2 *ac* SU^c, *aut* mTV, *au* U; 1.15.4 *vibullius*] *bibullius*; 1.32.4 *ultro*] *ultra*; 1.32.5 *altero* SV^c, *alterorum* mTV, *altero non* U; 1.61.6 *muniunt*] *muniuntur*; 2.12.4 *posse*] *posset*; 2.22.3 *iussu*] *missu*; 2.24.4 *voluerit*] *voluerunt*; 2.39.5 *omne*] *omni* TV, *homini* MU; 3.9.6 *maxime* SV^c, *maximi* MUTV; 3.15.8 *aliquid*] *aliquod*; 3.68.3 *coniunctam*] *coniuncta*; 3.80.2 *auxerat*] *auxerant*; 3.92.3 *et*] *quod et*; 3.106.1 *fufio*] *fusio*.

Any assessment of their importance, however, is bound to be somewhat premature until the other possibilities have been explored. As the proponents of an MUTV grouping have not done this, I give a sampling of the evidence of errors and as many omissions as I could find for placing SMU and STV on the same side of the stemma:

SMU

ERRORS 1.32.7 *hortatur*] *hortat* U, *orat* Sm; 1.56.4 *hae*] *haec*; 1.58.4 *partem* M^cTV, *partim* SMU; 1.71.3 *vix*] *vis* SU, *suis* M; 1.76.4 *ii*] *hi* TV, *L·* SMU; 1.82.4 *vacabat*] *vagabatur*; 1.84.5 *habeant*] *habeat*; 1.86.1 *iusti*] *victi*; 2.5.2 *eos*] *eas*; 2.16.3 *usum* M^cTV, *usu* SMU; 2.18.3 *se certis*] *secretis*; 3.13.3 *ei* M^cTV, *et* SMU; 3.16.4 *summam*] *summa*; 3.28.2 *crassus*] *grassus*; 3.63.3 *quod*] *quot* SU, *quo* M.[1]

OMISSIONS 2.8.1 *ibi*; 3.88.2 *una* M^cTV, om. SMU.

STV

ERRORS 1.4.4 *caesari*] *caesar*; 1.9.6 *sanciantur*] *sanciatur* S, *sanctiatur* TV; 1.45.1 *nonam*] *novam*; 1.45.2 *ilerda*] *ilerdam* ST, *ylerdam* V; 1.55.1 *quam*] *iam*; 1.69.2 *posse*] *possent*; 1.76.2 *iurent*] *venirent*; 1.82.2 *instruit*] *instruunt*; 2.23.1 *vari*] *varri*; 2.35.3 *hac*]*ac*; 2.41.7 *nostros*] *nostris*; 3.7.2 *IIII*] *illi* MU, *ille* STV; 3.17.3 *classe*] *classem*; 3.62.3 *velit* MUT^c, *vellet* STV; 3.63.8 *nostros*] *nostri*; 3.84.3 *iuberet*] *iubet*.[2]

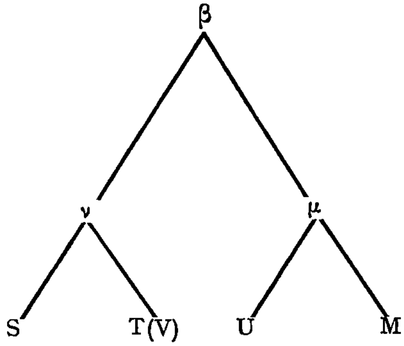
OMISSIONS 1.32.3 *et*; 1.50.2 *tum*; 1.64.1 *quae*; 1.83.3 *non*; 2.14.1 *se*; 2.35.5 *mille*] *eo* M, om. STV; 3.89.1 *-iunxit*; 3.95.2 *fatigati*; 3.101.4 *sunt*.

Once the evidence has been set forth, the way is clear for us to choose one of the three possibilities. Or is it? A closer look at the readings common to MUTV, SMU, and STV reveals similar errors for all three groupings in the loss of omission symbols at word ends, writing of singular for plural verbs and vice versa, wrong connectives, and confusions of letters that resemble one another. All things being equal, therefore, it is difficult to give preference to one relationship over another. Nor is the evidence of omissions sufficient

[1] There are approximately 60 errors common to SMU, and a fair number common to SM or SU.

[2] There are about 75 errors common to STV, but nearly half are orthographical variants.

to tip the scales in favor of one of the three possibilities. The omissions shared by MUTV have already been discussed (p. 29) and only one has emerged as a possible *Bindefehler.* There are so few instances common to SMU as to be negligible. But Hering[1] has cited the omissions peculiar to STV as proof that these manuscripts constitute one half of a stemma



although the majority of cases consists of connectives and 'small' words especially liable to such a fate and resembling those found in MUTV. The only STV omissions seemingly worthy of the name are 3.89.1 *-iunxit* and 3.95.2 *fatigati.* The scarcity of their number gives rise to doubt, and to the suspicion that STV omitted the words independently. Or it may be that these words were lacking in the archetype, and the reading of MU is a successful conjecture of the scribe of their common exemplar. That the subarchetype of MU was corrected is demonstrated by the presence of double readings in those manuscripts.[2] Consequently it would not be too farfetched to suggest that the *corrector* emended the passages in question.

At any rate, if omissions are to show more than the most tenuous relation between S and TV, they must surely be made of sterner stuff like those of the preceding chapter which clearly set S apart from the other manuscripts. The same is true of variant readings. I have tried to show that there is no solid basis for placing TV on the side of S, as Hering has done, or of MU, the traditional position of editors. Because the evidence will not support it convincingly,

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 74-76.

[2] For example, 1.57.4 *eorum* U, *eodem* in marg. U, *eorum eodem* M, *eorumdem* M^c; 2.34.6 *timore* U, *timore tempore* M, *tempore* STV; 3.102.6 *arma capta* Forchhammer, *aram captam* SUTV, *arcem* in marg. U, *arcem aram captam* M.

the situation is hopeless only if we insist on a stemma with two branches. But the same evidence indicates that S, MU, and TV are three distinct groups with a common parent. This would mean a tripartite stemma. Such an innovation is a bold one (although less so than a stemma with four branches) which contradicts the normal practice. In his now classic article, Joseph Bédier points out that bipartite traditions easily outnumber those divided into three or more classes, and he attributes this phenomenon to the editor's wish to reserve for himself freedom of choice and to a tendency to reduce the number of groups to the lowest possible denominator.[1] This seems to be precisely what has happened with the tradition of the *Civil War*. Also applicable here, perhaps, is the warning of Sebastiano Timpanaro:[2] 'Non dimentichiamo che gli stemmi, quasi sempre, si incominciano a tracciare sulla base di saggi e non di collazioni complete; e una volta abbozzato uno stemma—sia pure come semplice ipotesi di lavoro—, non è facile sottrarsi alla sua suggestione.'

The obvious argument to be put forward by the steadfast adherent to the bipartite stemma rests on the possibility of contamination. Nothing could be handier in accounting for the resemblances of TV to both S and MU, and his attack can be bolstered by palaeography which indicates that SUT were written in France. There is no reason to believe, though, that any one manuscript infected the tradition at its source;[3] contamination, if it took place, must have occurred horizontally after the archetype of SMUTV was written. Such a phenomenon, however, would presuppose a great deal of scribal activity, rare indeed for the tenth century and surprising in view of the fact that the *Civil War* appears to have been little known and used throughout the whole of the medieval period.[4] It is also indecisive in the light of the variants involved.

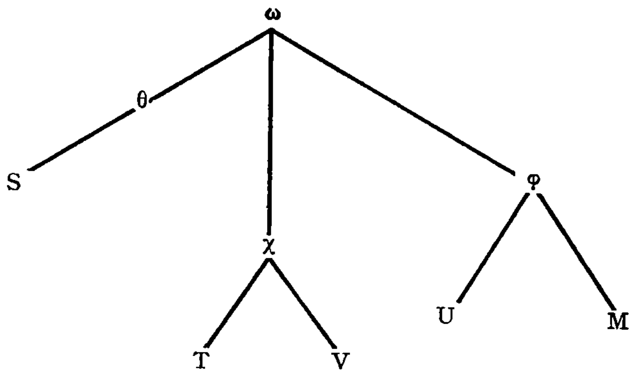
What the facts indicate is not the closer relationship of TV with S or MU but rather their separate lines of descent. And so we have this stemma:

[1] 'La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre', *Romania* 54 (1928), pp. 172-76.

[2] *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Florence, 1963), pp. 131-32.

[3] That is, no manuscript was copied directly from the archetype by a scribe who then corrected both the model and the copy. If such had been the case, we would expect his corrections to crop up in every branch of the tradition. This seems to have occurred in the transmission of Seneca; cf. L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's 'Letters'* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 54-56.

[4] Cf. p. 14 n. 2



There are distinct advantages to having a tripartite tradition. The reading of the archetype can be reconstructed by the agreement of all three witnesses or by the agreement of Sχ or Sφ or χφ. If any one of the witnesses exhibits a reading against the consensus of the other manuscripts, then it offers a subvariant which can be eliminated. Occasionally there are times when a witness has the right reading against all other manuscripts; this may be due to conjecture or an instance in which the remaining witnesses have fallen independently into the same error.[1]

The final point which I should like to discuss in this chapter has to do with the place of M in the editing of the text. One of the oldest manuscripts, it is the only codex to be assigned to a scriptorium on the Italian side of the Alps. Some significant conjunctive errors of MU are given below in (a), and in (b) lacunae peculiar to M which prove that U, a later manuscript, could not have been copied from M:

(a) 1.47.3 *quinque*] *quod quinque*; 1.64.1 *nonnumquam*] *nunc quam*; 2.6.3 *pugnando*] *pugna*; 2.25.6 *cornelia naves traduxisset*] *corneliana vela duxisset*; 3.8.3 *terreri*] *deterrere*; 3.101.2 *ad*] *apta ad*; 3.101.2 *constratae*] *rost constratae*; 3.106.3 *existimans*] *existimabat.*

(b) 2.5.5 *si superavissent vel domesticis opibus vel externis auxiliis de salute urbis confiderent*; 2.17.2 *-cessitudinem quidem sibi nihilo minorem cum Caesare intercedere neque se ignorare*; 2.18.5 *praesidiaque eo deducebat et iudicia in privatos reddebat*; 3.61.1 *et vallum contra hostem in altitudinem pedum X.*

In addition to its palaeography, M is also distinguished from the other manuscripts by its unusual readings. By my count there are approximately 200 errors peculiar to M and over 20 places where

[1] Cf. H. Kantorowicz, *Einführung in die Textkritik* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 5.

it gives the right reading against the other manuscripts. To explain these instances Fabre has postulated an unknown codex y whose readings were transmitted horizontally to the model of MU.[1] This is not a very satisfactory solution, however, as U does not exhibit many of the readings. The answer seems to be that M was copied by a careless scribe who was fortunate enough to make some happy changes. In all its *bessere Lesungen* M is barely right, thanks to the saving grace of one or two letters; such a slim margin hardly demands the assistance of a lost manuscript. The preferred readings are as follows:

1.9.3 *impetravisse, impetravisset* SUχ; 1.24.5 *et, ut* SUχ; 1.32.7 *de-futurum, futurum* SUχ; 1.32.8 *attribui, attribuit* SUχ; 1.32.8 *significari, significare* SUχ; 1.45.2 *montem, monte* SUχ; 1.51.5 *ii dum, id dum* SUχ; 1.62.2 *impedirentur, non impedirentur* Uχ, *non impedirentur nuntiabatur* S; 1.63.2 *pons, post* SUχ; 1.68.3 *frumento, frumentum* SUχ; 1.71.1 *equitatu, equitatum* SUχ; 1.86.3 *hispania, hispaniam* SUχ; 2.24.2 *cornelia, corneliana* SU, *canidiana* V, *caindiana* T; 2.29.1 *is* MV^{c}, *iis* SU, *his* χ; 2.34.3 *armature, armatura* SUχ; 3.1.2 *eae, aee* U, *heae* T, *hec* V, *ecce* S; 3.12.3 *staberius, straberius* SUχ; 3.24.4 *oram maritimam, ora maritima* SUχ; 3.73.3 *cepissent, coepissent* SUT, *caepissent* V; 3.80.7 *nuntios, nuntius* SUχ; 3.110.4 *essent, esset* Sχ, *esse* U; 3.110.5 *mortem, morem* SUχ; 3.112.1 *insula cepit, insula coepit* U, *insula caepit* V, *insula accepit* T, *insulaccepit* S.

While the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century—the period in which the older folia of M were copied—did not see much in the way of scribal activity expended on the *Civil War*, the later parts were written during the twelfth-century awakening of interest in literature. Damage to the original was probably the reason for the recopying; the later hand, with no disruption in the order of the text, begins fols. 117 and 133, and continues throughout both quaternions. Then, if ever, was the time for a manuscript with independent stemmatic value to rear its head. But I can find no evidence of any new strain of text through unusual readings,

[1] Cf. p. 8. In the preface to vol. i of his text (pp. lii-liii), Fabre remarks that M has a kind of 'separatism': 'M garde d'ailleurs, vis-à-vis de UR, une certaine indépendance; il se sépare même parfois de toute la deuxième classe, tantôt pour s'accorder avec la première, tantôt pour présenter des leçons qui lui sont propres; fait que l'on peut expliquer en admettant que le copiste de M s'est intéressé plus que celui de ρ aux variantes de μ [φ] dont il vient d'être question.' This is true, of course, but it is not the whole truth. Fabre's collations were incomplete, and he did not realize that MU(R), and not just M, agreed often with S or TV, and similarly that MU(R) presented a *lectio singularis*. His adoption of a bipartite stemma compelled him to conjure up an unknown codex to explain the apparently unique readings of one manuscript.

marginal notes, collations from other codices, etc. The appearance of the same kind of error found in the older sections is surely an indication that the scribe did no more than copy the earlier folia of the same manuscript. Some examples are: 3.10.10 *depositis*] *depositisque*; 3.13.3 *metari*] *metiri*; 3.19.3 *auditus*] *auditum*; 3.108.1 *indignari*] *indigrari*; 3.112.3 *vicus*] *vici*.

Further interest in M is sparked by a recent discovery regarding a previous owner. On fol. 1^{v} of the manuscript there is a *nota possessoris* which has been nearly eradicated, and it was read by Bandini for his catalogue of the Laurenziana as 'Nicolai Acciaioli de Flor.'. The reading is a difficult one, but there can be no doubt that what actually emerges from the faint traces is 'Nicolaj Nicol.', or Niccolò Niccoli, the great Florentine humanist.[1] Naturally one would hope to find in the manuscript emendations and marginalia in his hand. In this respect M seems very promising since more than 500 of the approximately 600 corrections are the work of a *manus recens*. Unfortunately, none of these can be identified as Niccoli's, for they are often nothing more than a dot for deletions or a diagonal stroke through the offending letter while the more extensive corrections are made in a script quite different from the known examples of his writing.[2]

Although the identity of the assiduous Renaissance *corrector* must elude us for the moment, we have something of a consolation prize in that the general principles regarding the activity of medieval scribes and *correctores* can be applied successfully in the case of M. The earlier folia which contain nearly the whole of the *Civil War* have only about forty contemporary corrections; they consist of emendations of simple spelling mistakes and haplography, and changes of case and verb endings. On the other hand, the twelfth-century quaternions have twice as many corrections of this type but occupy one fifth of the total pages. Copyists were obviously showing much more interest in their work during this period. If no traces of a new manuscript turn up in the later folia, surely it is reasonable to assume that there simply was none, or at least none available to this particular scribe.

[1] I should like to thank Dott. Filippo di Benedetto of the Laurenziana for examining the manuscript and confirming the reading. Prof. Philip A. Stadter has also identified the manuscript as one belonging to Niccoli. See his recent book *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua, 1971), p. 220.

[2] For specimens of Niccoli's script see plates 29-39 in B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome, 1960).

CHAPTER THREE

THE ARCHETYPE OF SMUTV

Up to this point it has been assumed that the manuscripts were derived from a common model, and no specific proof was given. That this is so is demonstrated by the errors common to SMUTV which have prompted conjectures. The manuscripts also have common omissions, for example at 3.22.2 where neither the sense nor the sentence is complete. A relatively late stage in the transmission of the text is depicted by the stemma since a milennium separates the oldest surviving witness from its author. However, the earlier history of the tradition need not remain entirely obscure; the extant codices shed some light on the prearchetype and the archetype. To avoid any confusion regarding the latter term, I shall use Maas's definition of the archetype as 'the exemplar from which the first split originated.' [1] Consequently this manuscript will be the latest independent carrier of the tradition.

The different stages in copying through which a codex has passed are usually revealed through errors caused by confusions of certain letters peculiar to one script and therefore puzzling to the scribe of a later period. Much work has been done by F. W. Hall, F. W. Shipley, and W. M. Lindsay on confusions involving capital, uncial, and minuscule letters, and their findings can be applied to the errors shared by SMUTV. Since L, N, and R are *codices descripti*, it follows that they do not have a palaeographical history different from that of their parent, nor has a careful examination of their readings turned up any traces of an older or a different script. Given this point of departure, only those readings in SMUTV which appear to be the result of genuine palaeographical confusion are important for the matter under discussion. Any errors that might be owing to differences in pronunciation or spelling, such as 'incol*o*mis' for 'incol*u*mis', 'd*e*lectus' for 'd*i*lectus', '*a*pponitur' for '*o*pponitur' etc., have not been taken into consideration.

On the basis of evidence of this kind, it seems to me an inescapable conclusion that ω, the archetype of SMUTV, was written in minuscules. There are many letters liable to confusion only or especially

[1] Op. cit., p. 2.

in this script, and a large number of these are common to one or two branches of the tradition. A good many minuscule confusions are common to all five manuscripts, and are to be attributed in all probability not to ω, but to a prearchetype and the codex from which ω was copied.[1] Thus we have at least two stages of copying before the writing of the earliest extant manuscript. The examples of misreadings of minuscule letters which are given below do not constitute an exhaustive list, but rather a sampling of the errors; they are similar to confusions cited by Hall [2] and Lindsay.[3]

a u 1.2.3 *ut*] *at* S; 1.67.4 *praesentiam*] *praesentium*; 1.83.1 *tertium*] *tertia*; 2.25.1 *substructionibus*] *substractionibus*; 2.44.2 *quorum*] *quarum* Sχ; 3.7.2 *constratae*] *constructae*; 3.10.2 *eundemque*] *eandemque* S; 3.10.5 *civium*] *civia* S; 3.84.5 *aecum*] *uncum* φT, *unum* S; 3.92.3 *casura*] *cursura* S; 3.93.4 *paulum*] *paulam* S; 3.107.1 *flant*] *fiunt*.

c t 2.21.2 *cives*] *tiis* S; 3.38.3 *inlata*] *inlaca* S; 3.78.4 *athamaniam*] *acarnaniam* Sφ, *acarnian* χ.

f s 1.25.3 *facilius*] *sicilius* S; 1.44.2 *fit*] *sit* φT; 3.96.4 *fefellisse*] *se se illis se* S; 3.106.1 *fufio*] *fusio* φχ.

i l 1.2.6 *inviti*] *inulti* U, *multi* S; 1.15.5 *lucilium*] *ucillum* Uχ, *ulcillem* S, *vallum* m; 1.23.4 *duumviris*] *iis viris* SφT, *his viris* V; 1.38.4 *ilerdam*] *iierdam* S; 1.46.3 *deiectis*] *dilectis* χ; 1.79.4 *relinquebatur*] *rei inquirebatur*; 2.10.3 *laminis*] *iam minis* S; 3.29.1 *iuvit*] *luiit* S, *luit* UT; 3.35.1 *reiectis*] *relictis*; 3.63.8 *deiectos*] *delectos* SMT.

i t 1.87.2 *in ius*] *intus*; 2.20.1 *ac tam*] *atiam* S, *autem* S^c; 2.20.3 *timore*] *itinere* S; 2.39.5 *videretur*] *uteretur* φχ; 3.19.1 *traiciebatur*] *iccie-batur* S; 3.53.4 *coniecta*] *contecta* S, *contexta* T; 3.56.2 *eique*] *etque* SU, *et .Q.* Mχ.

i u, ci u 1.51.2 *usi*] *usu* φχ; 1.70.1 *si priores*] *superiores* S; 1.84.3 *voluerint*] *voluerunt*; 2.17.4 *citeriorem*] *uteriorem* S; 2.27.1 *duo*] *dio* S; 2.33.1 *nec ibi*] *neubi* Sφ, *necubi* T; 3.1.4 *ambitus*] *ambitis* S; 3.33.1 *iubebat*] *uubebat* S; 3.55.2 *instructus*] *instrictus* S.

m n 1.48.7 *non eant*] *moneant* S; 2.32.10 *tenemini*] *te memini* χ; 3.27.2 *domum*] *donum* S; 3.31.4 *pergamum*] *perganum* S; 3.69.2 *timens*] *tenens* S; 3.112.11 *enim iacturis*] *eminacturis* S[1].

n u 1.5.5 *lenissimis*] *levissimis*; 1.45.1 *nonam*] *novam* Sχ; 2.24.3 *leniore*] *leviore* χ; 3.40.3 *inanes*] *inaves* S.

r s 1.20.3 *conserere*] *consensere* S; 1.28.4 *portum*] *postum* S; 1.65.4 *intrare*] *intra se*; 1.68.2 *partem*] *pastēr* S; 2.15.4 *portae*] *postea* S; 3.59.2 *hostibus*] *ortibus* S; 3.100.3 *corcyra*] *corcysit* S; 3.110.4 *versabantur*] *vessa-bantur* S.

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[1] Cf. Timpanaro, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

[2] *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 160-62.

[3] *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* (London, 1896), pp. 82-89.

et ex 1.6.7 *et*] *ex*; 1.31.2 *ex*] *et*; 2.35.6 *et*] *ex* S; 2.37.5 *ex*] *et* S; 3.102.7 *ex*] *et* S.

in ni iv vi m etc. 1.2.6 *inviti*] *multi* S; 1.40.3 *vi ventorum*] *iumentorum*; 1.58.4 *comminus*] *communis*; 1.70.5 *minimam*] *nimiam* χ; 1.86.1 *iusti*] *victi* Sφ; 2.2.3 *lignis*] *linguis* S; 2.22.3 *iussu*] *missu* φχ; 3.39.2 *huic*] *hinc* S; 3.43.1 *communit*] *commumit* S, *communiit* V; 3.45.1 *nitebatur*] *videbatur* φχ; 3.85.4 *simus*] *sumus* φχ, *sivis* S.

There are also a large number of mistakes caused by wrong separations of words, a phenomenon which could have occurred only if the archetype had been written in a more or less *scriptura continua*. Such a feature is characteristic of early minuscule manuscripts, and some examples of wrong divisions are:

1.33.3 *excusationibusque*] *excusati omnibusque* χ; 1.53.1 *multa rumores adfingebant*] *multarum rumore orat fingebant* T, *multorum ora fingebant* S; 1.61.5 *conquiri et otogesam*] *conquirere totogesma*; 2.11.2 *ac pice refertas*] *accipere fertas* S; 2.20.7 *cui iusserit*] *cuius serit* M, *cuius erit* T, *cui erit* V; 2.25.6 *cornelia naves traduxisset*] *corneliana vestra duxisset* S, *corneliana vela duxisset* φ, *corneliana traduxisset* χ; 3.20.2 *moderate ius*] *moderata eius* φχ, *moderat eius* S; 3.20.3 *aut temporum*] *aut̄ porum* S; 3.68.3 *prorutis*] *pro ut his* φχ; 3.112.3 *cursu decesserunt*] *cur sudes cesserunt* S.

These instances, together with the errors caused by confusions of letters, are, I think, ample and conclusive proof that the archetype was written in minuscules. This term is a convenient one for describing several kinds of writing, but the evidence suggests that such 'national' hands as Beneventan, Visigothic, and Insular [1] can be safely excluded as there are no traces of confusions of letters peculiar to these scripts. It seems to me very probable that the archetype was the product of a French scriptorium. Most of our oldest manuscripts were written in or near France, and those medieval libraries which could boast a copy of the *Commentaries* were located principally in France.[2] Consequently it would be

[1] C. H. Beeson has likewise concluded that there is no decisive evidence for establishing an Insular archetype; cf. 'The Text History of the Corpus Caesarianum', *CP* (1940), p. 124.

[2] Namely Angoulême, Bec, Corbie, St. Gildas, Limoges, Marseilles, Massay, Pontigny, and Toul. There were also manuscripts of Caesar at Metz, Neumünster b. Würzburg, and Ripoll. Cf. G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 149, 188, 197, 202, 282 and M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 39-42. None of these inventories is earlier than the eleventh century, and in none of them is the *Civil War* specifically named. The usual entry is 'historia' or 'gesta Iulii Caesaris' except for the Pontigny list which has 'de bellis Gallicis historia Iulii Cesaris libris VII'. To judge from the

arbitrary to look elsewhere. This means that ω could have been written in any of the pre-Caroline scripts used in France or even in Caroline minuscules. Certainly the errors originating in confusions of letters correspond exactly to those found in manuscripts copied from a Caroline exemplar. I do not think, however, that we can push the question any farther than this until more evidence turns up in the way of older medieval inventories or manuscripts.

Before turning to the *codices recentiores*, I should like to make some mention of the character of the archetype as conceived by Hering. His method and conclusions differ radically from mine, and it would be advisable to discuss and clarify the issues involved. Near the end of his chapter on the archetype he states:[1] 'Der Codex, auf den alle erhaltenen Handschriften zurückgehen, enthielt gewisse seltene Abkürzungen für nostri, nostra usw. Dies wird durch drei Stellen des Bellum Gallicum erwiesen, wo entweder die Abkürzung selbst oder eine durch sie bedingte falsche Lesung in beiden Handschriftenklassen belegt ist. Derartige Symbole waren nur im 6. Jh. in Gebrauch: der Archetypus muss also in dieser Zeit geschrieben worden sein. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist diese Urhandschrift des 6. Jhs. selbst in das Mittelalter gelangt und erst dann zum Stammvater aller erhaltenen Codices geworden.'

This line of reasoning has to contend with some serious objections. First, it is true that the symbols for *nostri*, *nostro*, *nostra*, *nostrum* $\left(\overset{i}{n}\ \overset{o}{n}\ \overset{a}{n}\ \overset{m}{n}\right)$ which appear in the *Gallic War* do occur in sixth-century manuscripts, one example being Lyons 483 (413) in half-uncials. But their use was not restricted to this period. They are found again, for instance, in Munich CLM 6243, a manuscript in early Carolingian minuscules written during the eighth/ninth century.[2] As a sure test of antiquity, therefore, this abbreviation is not too convincing.

Next, it is difficult to ascertain if the *Urhandschrift* is intended to designate the archetype of the *Gallic War* or the manuscript from

Massay inventory on fol. 112^{v} of U (cf. p. 26 n. 3), 'historia Iulii Caesaris' seems to designate the whole corpus.

[1] Op. cit., pp. 110-11.

[2] E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores*, vol. ix (Oxford, 1959), p. 8. Scholars will welcome the appearance of the index volume to this series which contains extensive palaeographical data. Hering's argument regarding this abbreviation is based on information found in Traube's *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 212-14. It should be noted that nowhere does Traube say that this symbol is used *only* (*nur*) in the sixth century.

which the entire corpus was derived. In view of the generality of Hering's statement, one supposes the latter. And yet, strictly speaking, this sixth-century codex is not relevant to the problem at hand: its existence is postulated on the basis of readings from the *Gallic War*, and it is then presumed to have contained all the *Wars*. The oldest manuscripts containing any work of Caesar are indisputably those of the *Gallic War*.[1] Perhaps no more than a coincidence, this cannot be taken to mean that it is impossible for the corpus to have been collected later than the sixth century. Moreover, the scanty palaeographical evidence from the *Gallic War* for an archetype of this date will not necessarily be valid for the *Civil War*, nor should it be assumed *a priori* that it is valid; the latter could have pursued quite a different palaeographical path before it was placed in the same manuscript with the *Gallic War*.

And finally there is, of course, the problem of explaining how minuscule confusions common to all the manuscripts made their way into a sixth-century codex which would, in all likelihood, have been written in majuscules. This last point seems to me the strongest argument against Hering's exemplar since it touches directly upon the readings of the text.

I hope that I have made clear why the archetype put forward by Hering is unsatisfactory. Something from his proposal, however, can be salvaged as having some bearing on the *prearchetypal* stage of the tradition, namely the mistakes due to confusions of majuscule letters. Shipley [2] has assembled the errors committed by the ninth-century scribes of Vaticanus Reg. 762 in copying Parisinus lat. 5730 (the Codex Puteanus of Livy) written in fifth-century uncials, and they can be divided into three groups: misreadings of ILT, BRPFK, and CEGOU. Confusions of the first two are possible in capitals and uncials while the third is particularly characteristic of uncials. Misunderstandings of IL and IT are also possible in minuscules, and as some examples have been cited on p. 37 I shall not repeat them here. Listed below are all confusions known to me of any combination of the remaining letters occurring in S$\varphi\chi$:

[1] Parisinus lat. 5763 (B) = saec. IX; Amstelodamensis 81 (A) = saec. IX/X.

[2] *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts* (New York, 1904), pp. 34-44.

B R 2.9.7 *elevarant*] *elevabant*; 3.42.5 *providerat*] *providebat*; 3.69.3 *proruerat*] *proruebat*.

C E 1.40.3 *egressae*] *congressae*.

C G 1.35.4 *volcarum*] *volgarum*; 2.23.5 *remulco*] *remulgo*; 3.25.3 *eicere*] *eligere*; 3.72.3 *acri*] *agri*; 3.81.1 *gomphensis*] *comprensis* SM, *compressis* UT, *compresse* V.

E O 3.37.2 *vallo*] *valle*.

E U 1.34.1 *vibullium*] *vibellium*.

O U 1.82.2 *proelium*] *proelio*; 2.15.3 *obiectu*] *obiecto*; 2.18.4 *perterritos*] *perterritus* SφV, *perterritis* T.

This is not an impressive collection of mistakes, but its size may have been unnecessarily limited. Only examples that appeared in all the manuscripts were included, this being almost a certain indication of the transmitted reading. There are a number of places where one of the manuscripts is right against the other witnesses, perhaps as the result of conjecture. If these instances (approximately twenty) were added to the above, the mistakes which appear to be due to the confusion of majuscule letters would make a more respectable showing. Some one may be able to find yet more evidence of a majuscule past, but such an exemplar would still be the prearchetype, rather than the archetype, of our extant manuscripts.

CHAPTER FOUR

CODICES RECENTIORES

The *codices recentiores* are, for the most part, unknown and unexplored. Attention was called in the Introduction to the late manuscripts which could be identified as having been used by editors from the Renaissance to the present.[1] Although these represent only a fraction of the total number, the *recentiores* of the *Civil War* are not nearly so plentiful as those of more popular authors like Virgil or Seneca. For this reason, an investigation is both possible and feasible, and it was undertaken not only because the manuscripts were there but also with the hope of finding new witnesses with stemmatic value. Such manuscripts, regardless of their date, would tell us more about the archetype and help to resolve old problems.

It would be rash indeed to assume that I am aware of *all* the extant manuscripts, for they are slippery creatures and have a way of disappearing and turning up in the most unlikely places. But I have tried to locate as many as I could, and have inspected nearly all the manuscripts of the *Civil War* in museums and public libraries that I did find; I can also make a fairly accurate estimate of the character of those I have not seen. There are, however, some in private hands that were inaccessible, and there are bound to be others in this category that are unknown to me.[2] Regarding the worth of the 162 *recentiores* that have been examined, I can only repeat the statement made about them in the introductory chapter: apart from occasional conjectures, they have no contribution to make to the construction of a text since they are either hybrids formed by the union of two older surviving manuscripts or copies of manuscripts whose text is complete. Those manuscripts of which I have knowledge but, through one difficulty or another, have not been able to examine, were written about the same time and in the same area, and hence would probably not alter any of my conclusions in the slightest.

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[1] Cf. pp. 5 n. 1, 8 n. 1, 10.

[2] I would appreciate receiving notice of them and of any in public collections that I may have missed through inadequate catalogue entries or inadvertence.

Despite the seeming lack of positive results, my investigation was not without some profit. The first advantage is obvious: the role of these manuscripts in the tradition is no longer uncertain, and future editors may dispense, in good conscience, with all but a very few of them.[1] Then, too, in dealing with as many manuscripts as possible I was able to draw up what I hope to be a complete list, on the basis of the information available, of the manuscripts of the *Civil War.* Its contents reveal a good deal about the popularity of the work, the dates and areas in which it was read and copied, and the esteem in which the author was held as shown by the type of manuscript produced. To do full justice to these and other points would require a separate publication,[2] and they cannot be treated in detail here. I shall try, however, to note some of the important features of each codex and to give a bibliographical reference to each.

The construction of a stemma for the late manuscripts seemed to me a laborious and fruitless task. It would have been extremely time-consuming to collate fully all the manuscripts, and once the job was done, its value for the editor is negligible. Moreover, I am not sure that it would be possible to construct a definitive stemma. The manuscripts can be divided quite clearly, but there has been some contamination between members within a division. As any genealogy would be provisional at best, I have decided to handle the problem in another way and to list the manuscripts according to their respective groups. These broad outlines are sufficient to illustrate the development of the later transmission and to show that the manuscripts have no stemmatic value. My classification is based, for each manuscript, on the collation of book 1.1-16, 2.29, 3.112 and salient errors and omissions peculiar to any of the oldest manuscripts. The *Civil War* is not a long work, and this sampling of the text makes it hard, if not impossible, for a codex with stemmatic value to resist discovery. An asterisk designates those manuscripts that I have examined only on microfilm.

Copies of Single Manuscripts

I. *Manuscripts copied from members of the θ group*

This branch of the tradition is very rare during all periods. N is

[1] Those of value to editors are N (for 2.18.6-19.3 which is missing in S), m and Vallicellianus B. 45 (for 1.1.1-33.3 which is missing in M).

[2] Something on the order of a descriptive catalogue, a project for which I am presently gathering material.

the only copy of S known to me. I have found one copy of L, and it appears to have been written not long after its parent. This is:

London, British Museum *Additional Ms. 17740*: membr., s. XII, ff. 59-88^{v}. See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1848-53* (London, 1868), p. 52. The extensive omissions in the third book (18.5-25.2, 32.3-75.3) may have been caused by the loss of several quaternions. An entry in the manuscript, dated 23 August 1894, indicates that Holder had also inspected the codex and realized that it was a copy of L.

N was slightly more in demand, for, in addition to L, I have discovered two more copies. They are:

*Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek *Cod. 57 in scrin.*: chart., s. XV, ff. 65-103. The manuscript also contains the *Vita Caesaris* of Petrarch (fols. 140-195) which had gone under the name of Julius Celsus Constantinus, a *corrector* of the *Gallic War*. The identity of its true author was thoroughly established by C. E. C. Schneider (*Francisci Petrarchae Historia Julii Caesaris . . . secundum codicem Hamburgensem*, Leipzig, 1827). The manuscript is described by A. Sottili, 'I codici del Petrarca nella Germania occidentale, II', *IMU* (1968), p. 367.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5771*: membr., s. XV, ff. 105-172^{v}. See C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. ii (Paris, 1962), p. 498. The arms of Giovanni Bolognini Attendolo are found on fol. 1.

Both manuscripts have undergone some correction with the aid of a contaminated version. The Hamburg codex is nearer to its model in that it preserves N's titles which attribute the *Civil War* to Suetonius, and also a greater number of N's readings.

II. *Manuscripts copied from members of the χ group*

These manuscripts likewise enjoyed very little in the way of progeny. I have not been able to find any copies of V, and there are only two copies of T, namely:

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit *Bibl. publ. lat. 38D*: membr., s. XIII, ff. 53^{v}-85. See *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti*, vol. iii (Leiden, 1912), pp. 21-22.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5783*: membr., s. XV, ff. 1-36. See *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*,[1] vol. iv (Paris, 1744), pp. 156-57.

[1] Hereafter cited as *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*

The manuscripts are written in the double columns of their exemplar, exhibiting little correction and nearly identical titles. The Leiden codex is the 'Leidensis primus' of Oudendorp and codex *b* of Nipperdey, and was recognized by Meusel to be a copy of T (cf. p. 8 n. 1); it was in the possession of Nicholas Foucault before it passed to Samuel van Hulst and thence to the University Library. A *nota possessoris* on fol. 1 informs us that the Paris manuscript was formerly owned by Claude Dupuy.

III. *Manuscripts copied from members of the φ group*

There are five times as many copies of the manuscripts in this group as in the other two branches combined, a phenomenon which can be explained by the fact that MU were in Italy during the height of Renaissance scribal activity and interest in Caesar. I have found nineteen copies of M and, in addition to R, seven of U.

A. *Copies of* M

BALTIMORE, Walters Art Gallery *W. 360*: membr., s. XV, ff. 109^{v}-179. See S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,*[1] vol. i (New York, 1935), p. 837. The manuscript shows some correction at 1.15.5 and 2.29.3 but is, by and large, a faithful copy of M. According to the note on fol. 1, it was owned by Francesco Maffei and given by him to the canons regular of San Leonardo in Verona.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.6* For a description of this manuscript see pp. 82-83.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.11*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 39^{v}-63^{v}. See A. M. Bandinius, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae,*[2] vol. ii (Florence, 1775), 841-42. The manuscript is written in double columns and follows the text of M closely, showing only a few traces of correction. The titles attribute the authorship of the *Civil War* to Suetonius.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Riccardiana *543*: membr., s. XV, ff. 109-174. See *Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardi* (Florence, 1810), p. 15. This manuscript is a faithful reproduction of M, but has been injudiciously emended with the help of a contaminated codex in numerous places.

*HOLKHAM HALL (Norfolk) *342*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 38-65^{v}. See S. De Ricci, *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, Abstracted from the Catalogues of William Roscoe and Frederick Madden* (Oxford, 1932), p. 28. The codex is written in double columns and was corrected against a contaminated text by a later hand.

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[1] Hereafter cited as De Ricci, *Census*.

[2] Hereafter cited as *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*

*HOLKHAM HALL (Norfolk) *343*: chart., s. XV, ff. 66^{v}-113^{v}. See S. De Ricci, *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, Abstracted from the Catalogues of William Roscoe and Frederick Madden* (Oxford, 1932), p. 28. The manuscript shows no signs of having been corrected.

LEIDEN, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit *Voss. lat. F. 90*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 59-94^{v}. See *Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae. Catalogus. Inventaris van de Handschriften*, vol. i (Leiden, 1932), p. 5. The 'Vossianus secundus' of Oudendorp, it belonged to Melchisédech Thévenot and then to Isaac Vossius. The manuscript is written in double columns and reproduces the text of M very carefully. There is little or no correction, and no trace of contamination. Fols. 112-145 contain the *Alexandrian, African,* and *Spanish Wars,* and were written in the fifteenth century.

MODENA, Biblioteca Estense *a.W.1.3*: membr., s. XV, ff. 38-62^{v}. See D. Fava, *La Biblioteca Estense nel suo sviluppo storico* (Modena, 1925), p. 244. The manuscript was written in double columns by Jacopo di Cassola da Parma for the Este family (cf. fol. 84) and illuminated by Giovanni Falconi and Jacopino d'Arezzo. It is a close copy of M, but was extensively emended by Guarino Guarini and Giovanni Lamola with the help of a vulgate text. Cf. the entry on fol. 84: 'Emendavit Guarinus Veronensis adiuvante Jo. Lamola cive bononiensi anno christi MCCCC XXXII, IIII° nonas Julias ferrarie.' The *Civil War* is attributed to Suetonius in the titles.

MODENA, Biblioteca Estense *a.W.8.6*: membr., s. XV, ff. 76^{v}-122^{v}. The text displays little or no correction, and I can find no readings from a contaminated codex.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5768*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 45^{v}-74. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 155. Some words in the titles of the *Civil War* have been erased, but enough remains to show that the author was thought to be Suetonius. The text was corrected and the omissions of M supplied from a vulgate manuscript. Formerly belonged to Colbert.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5777*: chart., s. XV, ff. 102-169. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 156. A very faithful copy of M, this manuscript was corrected against a contaminated version. Many of M's omissions are supplied in the margin, and the readings of the text have been changed. Formerly in the possession of the Marquis de Béthune.

ROME, Biblioteca Vallicelliana *B. 45*. For a description and discussion of this manuscript see pp. 78-81.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Barberinianus lat. 148*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 108^{v}-135. See S. Prete, *Codices Barberiniani latini. Codices 1-150* (Vatican City, 1968), pp. 188-90. The manuscript is written in double columns and is interesting from the viewpoint of its contents and previous owners. Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* occupies fols. 1-66^{v}, and this codex is one of the few to contain another work in addition

to the *Commentaries*. Gasparino Barzizza and Aulo Giano Parrasio were among its owners (cf. fol. 159), and the former added many corrections in his own hand from a vulgate text. This entry occurs at the end of the *Spanish War* (fol. 159): 'Imperfecta sunt haec verba Cesaris et imperfectum opus sed non reperitur plus quia vidi unum antiquissimum qui eodem modo deficiebat. Leo'. For a similar note see below Vienna 90.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Chigianus H. V. 140*: membr., s. XV, ff. 163-255. The manuscript displays scarcely any correction. One of its owners was Marco Barbo; see J. Ruysschaert, 'Miniaturistes *romains* sous Pie II', *Enea Silvio Piccolomini-Papa Pio II* (Siena, 1968), p. 261, n. 104. There is an unidentified coat of arms on fol. 6.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Ottobonianus lat. 2092*: chart., s. XV, ff. 62v-102. The manuscript shows slight traces of the vulgate. It was formerly in the possession of Duke Giovanni Angelo Altaemps (cf. fol. 1).

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 11579*: chart., s. XV, ff. 47-89. See J. Ruysschaert, *Codices Vaticani latini. Codices 11414-11709* (Vatican City, 1959), pp. 101-102. The manuscript has undergone some correction with reference to a contaminated text.

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *90*: membr., s. XV, ff. 1-64. See S. Endlicher, *Catalogus codicum philologicorum latinorum Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis* (Vienna, 1836), p. 35. There has been little or no correction, and the manuscript reproduces the text of M faithfully. Cf. fol. 109 for a subscription at the end of the *Spanish War* which corresponds almost exactly to the one on fol. 159 of Barberinianus lat. 148 (see above): 'Hic sunt imperfecta verba Cesaris, imperfectum opus, sed non reperitur plus, nam vidi unum antiquissimum librum quem eo modo deficere legi. Deo gratias. Amen'.

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *248*: membr., s. XV, ff. 109-177v. See F. Wickhoff, ed., *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*,[1] vol. VIII.6.1 (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 13-14. The manuscript is a close copy of M with very little correction.

*ZAGREB, Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Biblioteka (National and University Library) *MR 59*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 55-81. See A. Markov, 'Katalog Metropolitanskih Riedkosti', *Dissertationes et monumenta historiam culturae gentis Croaticae illustrantia*, vol. I.1 (Zagreb, 1945), p. 539.[2] The manuscript is written in double columns. Some folia have been lost at the beginning of the *Civil War*, and the text begins (fol. 55) at 1.31.3 *valitudine filium exponere*. The manuscript also contains Eutropius (fols. 7-54v).

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1 Hereafter cited as Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*.

2 I am grateful to Mr. Michael Werner for providing me with the palaeographical and bibliographical details.

B. *Copies of* U

*COPENHAGEN, Kongelige Bibliotek *Thott 543*: membr., s. XV, ff. 66ᵛ-108. See E. Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum medii aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis* (Copenhagen, 1926), pp. 319-20. This is the 'Hauniensis primus' or codex *e* of Nipperdey. It belonged to O. Thott. There is little or no correction.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.15*: membr., s. XV, ff. 128ᵛ-213. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 844. The titles to books 2 and 3 of the *Civil War* claim 'Hirtius Pansa' as their author.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Riccardiana *541*. For a description of this manuscript see p. 84.

LONDON, British Museum *Additional Ms. 16982*: membr., s. XV, ff. 90ᵛ-150. See *Catalogue of Additions, 1846-47* (London, 1864), p. 337. Cf. the entry on fol. 205ᵛ: 'Scriptus Romae per me Stephanum, diebus xxxviii., Mccccl xii'. This subscription may well be genuine, for it does not appear, to my knowledge, in any other manuscript. Consequently U, or a copy of U, must have been in Rome by 1462. See p. 86 for U's owners.

LONDON, British Museum *Harley 4629*: membr., s. XV, ff. 80-126. See R. Nares and others, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*,[1] vol. iii (London, 1808), p. 182. The manuscript is written in double columns, and the *Civil War* is attributed to 'A. Hirtius Pansa'.

TURIN, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria *E. III. 29*: membr., s. XV, ff. 107-174. See E. Stampini and others, 'Inventario dei codici superstiti greci e latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *RFIC* 32 (1904), p. 455. The manuscript has been corrected against a contaminated text. Formerly in the possession of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Ottobonianus lat. 1899*: chart., s. XV, ff. 115ᵛ-195ᵛ. The title to book 2 designates 'Hirtius Pansa' as the author of the *Civil War*. Guglielmo Sirleto and Duke Giovanni Angelo Altaemps (cf. fol. ii) were among previous owners of the manuscript.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 3323*: membr., s. XV, ff. 69-110ᵛ. Copious marginalia. Formerly in the possession of Fulvio Orsini; cf. fol. ii and P. De Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), pp. 264-65.

CONTAMINATED MANUSCRIPTS (M-N TYPE)

The great majority of the contaminated manuscripts contain a text based on a union of M and N.[2] As proof of their mixed parentage I cite the following readings:

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[1] Hereafter cited as Nares, *Harleian Manuscripts*.

[2] N rather than L because the contaminated texts have none of the variants peculiar to the latter.

1.5.2 *die septimo* (N); 1.8.3 *necessitatibus* (N); 1.8.3 *ne* (m); 1.9.3 *impetravisse* (m); 1.12.3 *omnium summa* (N); 1.13.4 *commissoque* (N); 1.14.4 *libertati* (m); 3.112.3 *in hac una* (M); 3.112.6 *deduxit* (M).

The codices of this type fall into two easily recognizable groups, the first of which is readily distinguished by the omission (in M) of 2.17.2 *-cessitudinem . . . ignorare* and the erroneous transposition of 2.18.5 *praesidiaque . . . reddebat* (also a passage lacking in M) to a position in the text after *qui verba . . . addicebat* in the same chapter. In the second group, the lacuna at 2.17.2 has been filled in, but the manuscripts still contain the wrong transposition at 2.18.5. This is a mistake that was probably caused by an attempt to fix up the text of M, and it is curious that it was not straightened out eventually,[1] especially since N has the correct order. Both groups have characteristic variants which confirm the genuineness of the split in this stage of the transmission. Whatever the cause of its popularity, the second group claims in a numerical comparison with its cousins nearly three times as many representatives, and it was a manuscript from this class that provided the text of the *editio princeps* and was the basis of succeeding editions for nearly four hundred years.

The center of activity for the copying of contaminated texts was fifteenth-century Italy,[2] and, to judge from the illumination of the codices, Florence and Ferrara in particular. The earliest dated manuscript is Turin E. IV. 37 which was written in 1397. It belongs to the larger group, and proves that conflation must have taken place at least by the fourteenth century. I think it probable that this event actually occurred sometime during this period. I have not found any contaminated manuscripts which could be attributed on palaeographical grounds to the thirteenth century, and it is hardly likely from the standpoint of literary interest that the hybrid text would be produced at this time. For the *Commentaries* first came into real prominence in the Trecento with the attention given to Caesar by such figures as Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati.[3]

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[1] Some contaminated witnesses do have the correct order, but they belong to another type; cf. pp. 62-63.

[2] This is not surprising because not only the interest but also the manuscripts were to be found there. M has probably never left Italy (cf. p. 79), and the examples in N of pre-fifteenth century marginalia and corrections in an Italian hand suggest that this codex must have made its way across the Alps before the Quattrocento.

[3] Cf. Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1966), passim. Petrarch drew heavily upon the entire corpus

A list of the manuscripts is given below. As in the case of the copies of single manuscripts, many of the contaminated codices have been corrected. I have generally refrained from noting this because it is very difficult to isolate the exact strain of text which acts as the source of these corrections.

I. *Manuscripts containing both the omission at* 2.17.2 *and the transposition at* 2.18.5

BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria *2220*: membr., s. XV, ff. 76-123^{v}. See L. Frati, 'Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna', *SIFC* 17 (1909), p. 9. The titles attribute the *Civil War* to Aulus Hirtius. The manuscript also contains Guarino's Latin translation of the *Vita Alexandri* of Plutarch (fols. 167^{v}-196^{v}) and Petrarch's *Vita Julii Caesaris* (fols. 196^{v}-220^{v}).

*BUDAPEST, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library) *Cod. lat. 11*: membr., s. XV, ff. 95-156. See L. Mezey and A. Bolgar, *Codices latini medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis* (Budapest, 1961), pp. 31-32. This entry is found on fol. 212: 'Marius Tomacellus scribi fecit amicis aeque ac sibi. Angelus scripsit'. The manuscript may have belonged to Matthias Corvinus.

*CAPE TOWN, South African Public Library *Grey 4b12*: membr., s. XV, ff. 103-169^{v}. See A. M. Lewin Robinson, 'The Illuminated Manuscripts in the Grey Collection, A General Survey', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 3 (1948), pp. 55-56. The last owner of the manuscript was Sir George Grey; it was presented to the Library in October, 1861.

*EL ESCORIAL *N. III. 22*: membr., s. XV, ff. 122^{v}-197^{v}. See G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, vol. iii (Madrid, 1913), p. 159. The manuscript was once in the possession of the Spanish humanist Jeronimo Zurita, and it came to the Escorial from the library of the Conde-Duque de Olivares.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Conv. soppr. 226*: membr., s. XV, ff. 65^{v}-107. Aulus Hirtius is designated as the author of the *Civil War*. The manuscript once belonged to the church of SS. Annunziata in Florence.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Conv. soppr. 263*: chart., s. XV, ff. 243-256^{v}. The manuscript is written in double columns and also contains Livy and the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha* of Sallust. It came from the Badia in Florence to the Laurenziana. Copied by Angelus December in 1439.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale *Landau-Finaly 101*: chart., s. XV, ff. 89-146. See *Catalogue des livres, manuscripts et imprimés composant la bibliothèque de M. Horace de Landau*, vol. ii (Florence, 1890), p. 126.

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for his *Vita Caesaris* (P. De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, rev. ed., vol. ii (Paris, 1907), pp. 38-42). Coluccio Salutati, on the other hand, knew only the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*; his manuscript of Caesar has not been identified. Cf. B. L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Padua, 1963), pp. 220-21.

*GOTHA, Forschungsbibliothek *I 96*: membr., s. XV, ff. 61^{v}-92^{v}. See F. Jacobs and F. A. Ukert, *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzoglichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1835), p. 241. The titles assign the *Civil War* to Hirtius.

LONDON, British Museum *Additional Ms. 11354*: membr., s. XV, ff. 74-122. See *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1838* (London, 1843), p. 6. According to the titles, A. Hirtius is the author of the *Civil War*.

LONDON, British Museum *Additional Ms. 11914*: membr., s. XV, ff. 93-150^{v}. See *Catalogue of Additions, 1841* (London, 1850), p. 17.

LONDON, British Museum *Additional Ms. 17986*: membr., s. XV, ff. 99^{v}-157^{v}. See *Catalogue of Additions, 1848-53* (London, 1868), p. 68. The manuscript contains the arms of the Badoeri of Venice.

LONDON, British Museum *Additional Ms. 23928*: membr., s. XV, ff. 86-139^{v}. See *Catalogue of Additions, 1854-60* (London, 1875), pp. 918-19. The titles attribute the *Civil War* to Aulus Hirtius. Fol. 2 contains the arms of the Savelli of Venice.

LONDON, British Museum *Harley 4639*: chart., s. XV, ff. 74-123^{v}. See Nares, *Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. iii, p. 184.

MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana *C. 107 sup.*: chart., s. XV, ff. 84^{v}-139. See A. Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1933), pp. 10-11. This entry occurs on one of the fly-leaves at the end of the manuscript: 'Hic liber est Ioseph Carminatij'. The codex also formed part of the collection of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli.

MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana *S. 60 sup.*: membr., s. XV, ff. 137^{v}-226^{v}. See R. Cipriani, *Codici miniati dell' Ambrosiana* [1] (Vicenza, 1968), p. 121. There is a note, dated 1604, by Antonius Olgiatus, the first librarian of the Ambrosiana, on fol. i^{v}.

MODENA, Biblioteca Estense *a.G.4.11*: membr., s. XV, ff. 66^{v}-109. See D. Fava and M. Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena* (Florence, 1950), pp. 155-56.

NAPLES, Biblioteca Nazionale *IV. c. 13*: chart., s. XV, ff. 1-61^{v}. See C. Iannellius, *Catalogus bibliothecae latinae veteris et classicae manuscriptae quae in Regio Neapolitano Museo Borbonico adservatur* (Naples, 1827), pp. 83-84. The manuscript also contains excerpts from Suetonius, Cicero, and Sextus Rufus (fols. 113-120^{v}). In addition to the omission at 2.17.2, there is a lacuna at 2.5.5. *si . . . confiderent* which is also shared by M. Hence the possibility that the manuscript is a heavily corrected copy of M. All things considered, however, its text is otherwise of the usual contaminated type, and I have placed the codex in this group, assuming that the omission at 2.5.5 is accidental.

*NUREMBERG, Stadtbibliothek *Cent. IV. 92*: chart., s. XV, ff. 106^{v}-173. The *Civil War* is attributed to Aulus Hirtius. The manuscript was once in the possession of Dr. Theodor Reinsperger; cf. the note on fol. 231.

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[1] Hereafter cited as Cipriani, *Codici miniati*.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library *Canon. class. lat. 265*: membr., s. XV, ff. 73^v-120. See O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. ii (Oxford, 1970), p. 39. The manuscript was written in 1454 by Gerardus de Campis; cf. the subscription on fol. 164.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library *Canon. class. lat. 302*: membr., s. XV, ff. 82^v-133. See H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. iii (Oxford, 1854), 241.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5775*: membr., s. XV, ff. 82^v-139. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 156. From the collection of Cardinal Mazarin.

PRINCETON, Princeton University Library *Kane 41*: membr., s. XV, ff. 85-136^v. See De Ricci, *Census*, vol. ii (New York, 1937), p. 1896.

SIENA, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati *K X 58*: chart., s. XV, ff. 71^v-116^v. See N. Terzaghi, 'Index codicum latinorum classicorum qui Senis in bybliotheca publica adservantur', *SIFC* 11 (1903), p. 426. The manuscript also contains Vegetius, *De re militari* (fols. 159-186). It belonged to 'Can. M. Pieroni' and the Convento dell' Osservanza in Siena before coming to the Biblioteca Comunale in 1869 (cf. inside front cover and fol. i).

*TRIESTE, Biblioteca Civica *Sez. I. XIX. C. c. 14*: chart., s. XV, ff. 86-141. See Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, vol. vii (Leipzig, 1917), p. 17.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Ottobonianus lat. 1740*: chart., s. XV, ff. 103^v-169. The titles designate Aulus Hirtius as the author of the *Civil War*.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Reginensis lat. 903*: membr., s. XV, ff. 40-65. The manuscript belonged to Pierre Bourdelot, physician to Queen Christina of Sweden (cf. fol. 1), and then to the Queen herself.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Urbinas lat. 428*: membr., s. XV, ff. 90^v-146. See C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates latini*, vol. i (Rome, 1902), p. 433. The manuscript formed part of the library of Count Federico II of Urbino.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Urbinas lat. 882*: membr., s. XV, ff. 69-113^v. See C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates latini*, vol. ii (Rome, 1912), p. 617. The codex was once the property of Francesco of Parma (cf. the entry on fol. ii). A subscription on fol. 154^v has been erased, but enough can be made out to indicate that the manuscript may have been written by a certain 'Henricus, 1460, 3° augusti'.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 1830*: membr., s. XV, ff. 101^v-170. See B. Nogara, *Codices Vaticani latini. Codices 1461-2059* (Rome, 1912), pp. 289-90. The *Civil War* is attributed to Aulus Hirtius. The arms of Pope Julius II are found on fol. 1.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 3322*: membr., s. XV, ff. 51-86. Hirtius is thought to be the author of the *Civil War*. As in Princeton Kane 41 (see above), book 2 is regarded as containing the *Spanish War*, and book 3 the *Alexandrian War*. The manuscript formerly belonged to Fulvio Orsini; cf. P. De Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), pp. 264-65.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 11582*: chart., s. XIV-XV, ff. 54-87. See J. Ruysschaert, *Codices Vaticani latini. Codices 11414-11709* (Vatican City, 1959), p. 342. The titles assign the *Civil War* to Aulus Hirtius. Notes in the hand of Marcus Antonius Muretus suggest that the manuscript once belonged to him.

VENICE, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana *1700*: membr., s. XV, ff. 126-205^{v}. See J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*,[1] vol. vi (Venice, 1873), p. 7. Aulus Hirtius emerges as the author of the *Civil War*. The codex belonged to Cardinal Bessarion.

VENICE, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana *3615*: membr., s. XV, ff. 62-100^{v}. See *Bibl. S. Marci*, vol. vi, p. 7. The manuscript came from the collection at Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

VENICE, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana *3781*: membr., s. XV, ff. 71-115^{v}. See *Bibl. S. Marci*, vol. vi, p. 8. The titles claim Hirtius or Oppius as the author of the *Civil War*. Formerly at Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *98*: membr., s. XV, ff. 75-122^{v}. See Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, vol. VIII.6.4 (Leipzig, 1933), p. 10 and pl. IV.1 (fol. 1). The manuscript probably belonged to Joannes Sambucus as it contains annotations in his hand, and may have been used by Oudendorp for his edition.

II. *Manuscripts containing only the transposition at* 2.18.5

BERLIN, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek *Hamilton 125*: membr., s. XV, ff. 81^{v}-136^{v}. See H. Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966), p. 69. The manuscript may have been copied by Poggio early in his career; cf. B. L. Ullman, 'More Humanistic Manuscripts', *Calligraphy and Palaeography. Essays Presented to Alfred Fairbank on His 70th Birthday* (London, 1965), p. 47 and pl. 11. The entry 'Monasterii Clarevallis Mediolani' occurs on fol. 1.

BERLIN, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek *Hamilton 127*: membr., s. XV, ff. 105-159^{v}. See H. Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 69-70.

BESANÇON, Bibliothèque Municipale *843*: membr., s. XV, ff. 119-189. See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. xxxii (Paris, 1897), p. 532.

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[1] Hereafter cited as *Bibl. S. Marci*.

BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria *453*: chart., s. XV, ff. 84-135. See L. Frati, 'Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna', *SIFC* 16 (1908), p. 208. The codex formed part of the library of Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (cf. fol. 1).

BOLOGNA, Biblioteca Universitaria *2464*: membr., s. XV, ff. 78-127^{v}. See L. Frati, 'Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna', *SIFC* 17 (1909), p. 49. According to the titles, either Hirtius or Oppius is the author of the *Civil War*. The codex belonged to the Monastero di S. Salvatore in Bologna (cf. fol. 172^{v}).

*BUDAPEST, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (Széchényi Library of the National Museum) *Cod. lat. 179*: membr., s. XV, ff. 97-158^{v}. See E. Bartoniek, *Codices latini medii aevi* (Budapest, 1940), p. 146.

CAMBRIDGE (Mass.), Houghton Library of Harvard University *MS Typ 177H*: membr., s. XV, ff. 78^{v}-129^{v}. See C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 267.

CAMBRIDGE (Mass.), Houghton Library of Harvard University *MS Typ Office*: membr., s. XV, ff. 95-155. See C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 71. Formerly in the collection of T. E. Marston, the manuscript is now the property of Mr. John Goelet who very kindly allowed me to see it. It is presently on deposit in the Houghton Library.

*CESENA, Biblioteca Malatestiana *Sin. XIV. 3*: membr., s. XV, ff. 80^{v}-127^{v}. See R. Zazzeri, *Sui codici e libri a stampa della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* (Cesena, 1887), pp. 370-72. The arms of the Malatesta family are found on fol. 1.

*DRESDEN, Sächsische Landesbibliothek *Dc 168*: chart., s. XV, ff. 68^{v}-110^{v}. See F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld and L. Schmidt, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1882), p. 329. This subscription occurs on fol. 148: 'Ego Johannes de Placentia scripsi ad laudem et honorem virginis Marie etc.'. Readings from the manuscript are occasionally cited by Klotz and Fabre.

*DUBLIN, Archbishop Marsh's Library *Z3. 1. 20*: membr., s. XV, ff. 97^{v}-157^{v}. See J. R. Scott and N. J. D. White, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Remaining in Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Dublin, 1913), p. 38.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Conv. soppr. 183*: membr., s. XV, ff. 80^{v}-132. The codex came to the Laurenziana from the Badia in Florence (cf. fol. 1).

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Fiesol. 184*: membr., s. XV, ff. 93-150^{v}. See A. M. Bandinius, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu Catalogus manuscriptorum qui iussu Petri Leopoldi . . . in Laurentianam translati sunt*, vol. iii (Florence, 1793), 124-25.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 20 sin. 7*: membr., s. XV, ff. 88-142. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. iv (Florence, 1777),

149-50. There is a subscription on fol. 190: 'Manu Ser Francisci Ser Bonfilij olim dñi Pieri de Contugis not. public. Vulterran. est effectus' (sigla tabellionatus). For a similar entry see below Vatican Urbinas lat. 442. Formerly at Santa Croce (cf. fol. ii^{r-v}).

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.9*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 98-161. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 840-41. Fol. ii^{v} contains the following note: 'Quicquid in textu additum, dispunctum, immutatumve, lector, inveneris, id sumptum scias ex codice antiquissimo Langobardis litteris scripto, nec arbitrariam divinatoriamque hanc fuisse emendationem. Vale igitur, lector, boni consule.' Laurentianus 68.6 (m) is the only manuscript known to me in Lombardic or Beneventan script, and it may have served as a guide for the *corrector* of Plut. lat. 68.9.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.10*: membr., s. XV, ff. 76^{v}-123^{v}. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 841.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.12*: membr., s. XV, ff. 86-139^{v}. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 842-43. A *nota possessoris* occurs on fol. 191: 'Liber Juliani Petri de Medicis'.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.13*: membr., s. XV, ff. 75^{v}-125^{v}. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 843. Cf. the entry on fol. 170^{v}: 'Liber Petri de Medicis Cos. fil.'.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.14*: membr., s. XV, ff. 91-147. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 843-44. The manuscript belonged at one time to Francesco Sassetti (cf. fol. iv^{v}).

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.16*: membr., s. XV, ff. 111-182. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 844-45.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.17*: chart., s. XV, ff. 78^{v}-127. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 845.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 68.18*: chart., s. XV, ff. 49-79. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. ii, 845-46.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *Plut. lat. 89.15 inf.*: membr., s. XV, ff. 98-156. See *Catal. Bibl. Med. Laur.*, vol. iii (Florence, 1776), 366. Formerly in the possession of the Gaddi.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Riccardiana *542*: membr., s. XV, ff. 77-126. See M. L. Scuricini Greco, *Miniature Riccardiane* (Florence, 1958), pp. 153-54. The manuscript contains the arms of the Attaviani on fol. 1.

*GOTHA, Forschungsbibliothek *I 95*: membr., s. XV, pp. 154-253. See F. Jacobs and F. A. Ukert, *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzoglichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1835), pp. 241-42.

*GRANADA, Biblioteca Universitaria *Caja B-17*: chart. et membr., s. XV-XVI, ff. 120^{v}-194^{v}. See R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 244. The manuscript came to the University Library from the Jesuit College in Granada.

*Holkham Hall (Norfolk) *341*: membr., s. XV, ff. 80v-131v. See S. De Ricci, *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, Abstracted from the Catalogues of William Roscoe and Frederic Madden* (Oxford, 1932), p. 28. One of the former owners of the codex was Bernardino Rota (cf. fol. 1). It is an unsigned work from the hand of Piero Strozzi.[1]

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit *Bibl. publ. lat. 27*: membr., s. XV, ff. 83v-139v. See *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti*, vol. iii (Leiden, 1912), p. 17. This is the 'Leidensis secundus' of Oudendorp.

London, British Museum *Burney 132*: chart., s. XV-XVI, ff. 106v-178. See J. Forshall, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (*New Series*), vol. I.2 (London, 1840), pp. 49-50. The manuscript belonged to a member of the Visconti or Sforza family (cf. the coat of arms on fol. 2).

London, British Museum *Harley 2683*: membr., s. XV, ff. 74-120v. See Nares, *Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. ii (London, 1808), p. 707. The arms of Pius II are found on fol. 1. Cf. also fol. iv: 'Cristoferi Conchi quondam domini Nicolai patricij Venetiorum'.

London, British Museum *Harley 4834*: membr., s. XV, ff. 66-108v. See Nares, *Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. iii, p. 209.

London, British Museum *Royal 15. C. XV*: membr., s. XV, ff. 88v-143v. See G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, vol. ii (London, 1921), p. 169. Cf. the note on fol. 1v: 'Vespasianus librarius Florentinus hoc opus Florentie transcribendum curavit.'

*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional *10054*: membr., s. XV, ff. 106-172. See J. Sola, 'Códices cesarianos en España', *Humanidades Comillas* 13 (1961), pp. 356-57. Among previous owners of the manuscript were Cardinal Francisco Zelada and the Maffei family of Volterra whose coat of arms is found on fol. 1.

*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional *12867*: membr., s. XV-XVI, ff. 103-166v. See J. Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, vol. i (Madrid, 1933), p. 306. The codex belonged to D. Fernando Moscoso y Ossorio (cf. fol. 225) and appears to be an unsigned work from the hand of Bartolomeo Sanvíto.

*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional *Res. 242*: membr., s. XV, ff. 111-184v. See J. M. Rocamora, *Catálogo abreviado de los manuscritos de la Biblioteca del Excmo. Señor Duque de Osuna é Infantado* (Madrid, 1882), pp. 15-16. From the Osuna collection.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana *A. 214 inf.*: chart., s. XV, ff. 81v-132v. See Cipriani, *Codici miniati*, p. 157. There is a note by Antonius Olgiatus, dated 1603, on fol. iii. The manuscript shows signs of water damage, but is still legible.

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[1] Dr. A. C. de la Mare has confirmed my identification of the scribe.

MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana *L. 94 sup.*: membr., s. XV, ff. 111-183. See Cipriani, *Codici miniati*, p. 87. Daniele Saraceni of Vicenza bought the manuscript in Florence from Bartolomeo Cermesoni in 1458, and it has been in the Ambrosiana since 1603; cf. the notes on fols. i and iii.

MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana *S. 52 sup.*: membr., s. XV, ff. 116^v-186. See Cipriani, *Codici miniati*, p. 120. An entry on fol. 1^v by Antonius Olgiatus, dated 1609, states that the manuscript came to the Ambrosiana from the library of Vincenzo Pinelli.

*MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *CLM 15765*: chart., s. XV, ff. 58^v-95. See C. Halm and others, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. II.3 (Munich, 1878), pp. 32-33. Formerly at the Bibliothek des Erzbischöflichen Seminarcollegs in Salzburg.

NEW HAVEN, Beinecke Library of Yale University *87*: membr., s. XV, ff. 90^v-146. See C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 27. The note 'Questo libro e di Baldanto Balducci' is found on fol. i.

NEW YORK, Butler Library of Columbia University *Plimpton 105*: chart., s. XV, ff. 105^v-170^v. See De Ricci, *Census*, vol. ii, p. 1771 and S. A. Ives, 'Corrigenda and Addenda to the Description of the Plimpton Manuscripts as Recorded in the De Ricci *Census*', *Speculum* 17 (1942), p. 39.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library *Auct. F. 1. 10*: chart., s. XV, ff. 59^v-95^v. See F. Madan and others, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. II.1 (Oxford, 1922), p. 396.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library *Canon. class. lat. 266*: membr., s. XV, ff. 114^v-184. See O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. ii (Oxford, 1970), p. 28.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library *D'Orville 9*: membr., s. XV, ff. 79-116. See *Codices manuscripti et impressi cum notis manuscriptis olim d'Orvilliani qui in Bibliotheca Bodleiana apud Oxonienses adservantur* (Oxford, 1806), p. 3. This is the 'Codex Dorvillianus' of Oudendorp. Formerly in the possession of Jacques-Philippe D'Orville.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library *E. D. Clarke 25*: membr., s. XV, ff. 169^v-281^v. See O. Pächt, *Italian Illuminated Manuscripts from 1400-1500. Catalogue of an Exhibition Held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1948* (Oxford, 1948), p. 17. The initial on fol. 169^v has a portrait in profile of Ludovico Carbone, and notes in his hand are scattered throughout the manuscript.

PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal *669*: membr., s. XV, ff. 121^v-197. See H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal*, vol. ii (Paris, 1886), pp. 6-7. Earlier owners of the manuscript include Jean Schilling, Prince Stanislaus Lubomirski of Poland, the Marquis de Béthune; the arms on fol. 1 are those of the Aloisi-Masella.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5770*: membr., s. XV, ff. 89^v-144^v. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 155. The manuscript formed part of the Granvelle collection (cf. fol. 1).

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5772*: membr., s. XV, ff. 45^v-73. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 155. The manuscript also contains Petrarch's *Vita Julii Caesaris* (fols. 101-172^v). Formerly in the collection of Colbert.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5773*: membr., s. XV, ff. 119^v-191^v. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 155.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5774*: membr., s. XV, ff. 84^v-139. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 156. Formerly owned by Claude Dupuy (cf. fol. 1).

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5776*: membr., s. XV, ff. 121^v-192. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 156. Cf. the entry on fol. 1: 'Ex bibliotheca Samuelis Petiti'.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5779*: membr., s. XV, ff. 123^v-197. See G. Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei Re d'Aragona in Napoli* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1897), p. 19. The manuscript once belonged to King Alfonso II of Naples.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5780*: membr., s. XV, ff. 89^v-147. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 156.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5781*: membr., s. XV, ff. 102^v-169. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 156. From the collection of Colbert.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 6106*: membr., s. XV, ff. 78^v-117. See C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. ii, p. 313 and pl. XC (fol. 141). Cf. the subscription on fol. 93: 'Georgius Begna Iadrensis excripsit sibi et cui sors dabit. Florentiae, IIII idus augusti MCCCCXXV. Bene vales qui legis.' The manuscript also contains Frontinus, *Stratagemata* (fols. 144^v-163^v) and Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris* (fols. 163^v-183^v). From the collection of Colbert.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 6108*: chart., s. XV, ff. 146^v-239. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 204. From the collection of Colbert.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 13711*: membr., s. XV, ff. 97-159^v. See L. Delisle, 'Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *BECh* 29 (1868), p. 239. The manuscript had previously belonged to Henri du Cambout de Coislin, Bishop of Metz, who had inherited it from his grandfather, Pierre Séguier; upon the former's death in 1732 it passed to Saint-Germain-des-Prés (cf. fol. 1).

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 14631*: membr., s. XV, ff. 90-149^v. See L. Delisle, 'Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint-Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 14232-15175', *BECh* 30 (1869), p. 32. The codex was presented to the Abbey of St. Victor in 1662 by Antoine Noeau (cf. fol. i^v).

PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina *1279*: membr., s. XV, ff. 54^{v}-89^{v}. See F. Blume, *Bibliotheca librorum manuscriptorum Italica* (Göttingen, 1834), p. 236.

PESARO, Biblioteca Oliveriana *27*: membr., s. XV, ff. 124-205^{v}. See G. Mazzatinti and A. Sorbelli, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. xxix (Forlì, 1923), p. 15.

RAVENNA, Biblioteca Classense *336*: membr., s. XV, ff. 69-116^{v}. See G. Mazzatinti and A. Sorbelli, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. iv (Forlì, 1894), p. 218.

ROME, Biblioteca Casanatense *453*: membr., s. XV, ff. 96^{v}-156^{v}. See A. Moricca Caputi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, vol. v (Rome, 1958), pp. 81-82. The passage at 2.18.5 *praesidiaque . . . reddebat* has been omitted, but the text corresponds in every other way to manuscripts of this group. It is an unsigned work from the hand of Bartolomeo Sanvito; cf. T. De Marinis, 'Nota per Bartolomeo Sanvito calligrafo del Quattrocento', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. iv (Studi e Testi, 234), p. 187 and pls. V (fol. 1), VI (fol. 199).

ROME, Biblioteca Corsiniana *Cors. 581* (*43F25*): membr., s. XV, ff. 99-159. See *Catalogo degli autori de' libri manoscritti e delle scritture in essi registrate e raccolte che si conservano nella Libreria dell' Ecc.ma Casa Corsini* (1738), p. 189.

SAINT GALL, Vadianische Bibliothek *305*: membr., s. XV, ff. 85-137. See G. Scherer, *Verzeichniss der Manuscripte und Incunabeln der Vadianischen Bibliothek in St. Gallen* (St. Gall, 1864), p. 80.

SAN DANIELE DEL FRIULI, Civica Biblioteca Guarneriana *51*: membr., s. XV, ff. 110^{v}-180. See G. Mazzatinti and A. Sorbelli, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. iii (Forlì, 1893), p. 117. The manuscript belonged to Guarnerio d'Artegna.

*STOCKHOLM, Kungliga Biblioteket *Va 6*: membr., s. XV, pp. 254-418. See E. Pellegrin, 'Manuscrits d'auteurs latins de l'époque classique conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Suède', *BIRT* 3 (1954), pp. 11-12. Formerly in the possession of Jeronimo Zurita (cf. fol. i^{v}).

*TRENT, Biblioteca Comunale *3353*: chart., s. XV, ff. 77-123^{v}. See *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. ii (Vienna, 1868), p. 265. The manuscript also contains the Gesta S. Quirini (fols. 167-180^{v}), and Metellus of Tegernsee, *Quirinalia* and *Bucolica Quirinalium* (fols. 181-221); it came to Trent from Vienna after the first World War.

TURIN, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria *E. IV. 37*: membr., s. XV, ff. 122-198^{v}. See E. Stampini and others, 'Inventario dei codici superstiti greci e latini antichi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *RFIC* 32 (1904), p. 498. The manuscript was owned by a certain 'Petrus de Pingone de Chamberiaco' and was written at his request in 1397 (cf. fol. 268^{v}); it is the oldest dated codex in this group (cf. p. 49).

*Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria *396*: membr., s. XV, ff. 103^{v}-164^{v}. See M. Gutiérrez del Caño, *Catálogo de los manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia*, vol. i (1914), pp. 209-10 and pl. XI (beginning of the *Gallic War*). The manuscript contains the arms of the Aragonese kings of Naples, and was at one time in the possession of the Monastery of S. Miguel de los Reyes (cf. fol. 5). This subscription is found on fol. 220^{v}: 'Laus Deo. Angelus excripsit'.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Barberinianus lat. 111*: membr., s. XV, ff. 71-114. See S. Prete, *Codices Barberiniani latini. Codices 1-150* (Vatican City, 1968), pp. 188-90. Two scribes appear to have written the manuscript: the first copied fols. 1-128^{v}, and the second fols. 129-155. Cf. the entry at the end of the *Gallic War* (fol. 70): 'Commentariorum Belli Gallici Liber a Bartholomeo de Recho descriptus Genue inceptus ruri extremam manum accepi. MCCCCL tertio die XXIII Septembris'. One of the owners of the manuscript was Celso Cittadini (cf. fol. 1).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Barberinianus lat. 152*: membr., s. XV, ff. 83-137.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Chigianus lat. H. VII. 214*: membr., s. XV, ff. 82-130. The arms of Pius II are seen on fol. 1; cf. A. Marucchi, 'Stemmi di possessori dei manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. vii (Studi e Testi, 237), pp. 42-43.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Ottobonianus lat. 1235*: membr., s. XV, ff. 69^{v}-114^{v}. Formerly owned by Duke Giovanni Angelo Altaemps (cf. fol. ii).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Ottobonianus lat. 1746*: membr., s. XV, ff. 76^{v}-119. Some folia have been lost at the end of books 1 and 2. Cf. the subscription at the end of the *Spanish War* (fol. 158^{v}): 'Hoc opus scripsit Bartholomaeus Fabius Mutinensis. Deo laus et gloria'. For another reference to a scribe of this same name, cf. M. Gerbert, *Iter Alemannicum, accedit Italicum et Gallicum* (St. Blasien, 1765), p. 467.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Ottobonianus lat. 1963*: membr., s. XV, ff. 153^{v}-251^{v}. Previous owners of the codex include Vincenzo Franci, Guglielmo Sirleto, Ascanio Colonna, and Duke Giovanni Angelo Altaemps (cf. fol. i).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Palatinus lat. 881*: membr., s. XV, ff. 78-126^{v}. See E. Stevenson and I. B. De Rossi, *Codices Palatini latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, vol. i (Rome, 1886), p. 313. The titles attribute the *Civil War* to Suetonius Tranquillus, an error which occurs, so far as I know, in no other manuscript of this class. Among the owners of this codex were Giannozzo Manetti, Ulrich Fugger, and the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg (cf. fol. ii^{v}).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Palatinus lat. 882*: membr., s. XV, ff. 107^{v}-178^{v}. See A. Marucchi, 'Stemmi di possessori

dei manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. vii (Studi e Testi, 237), pp. 63-64. The manuscript belonged to Gioffredo Caroli (cf. fol. 2), Jacques Bongars (cf. fol. 243v), and the Bibliotheca Palatina, Heidelberg.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Reginensis lat. 862*: membr., s. XV, ff. 92v-150v. The manuscript belonged to Nicholas Heinsius (cf. fol. 1) before it came into the possession of Queen Christina of Sweden.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Reginensis lat. 1954*: membr., s. XV, ff. 149-236v. See J. Ruysschaert, 'Miniaturistes *romains* sous Pie II', *Enea Silvio Piccolomini-Papa Pio II* (Siena, 1968), pp. 258, 249 n. 23. The manuscript contains the arms of Gilforte Bonconti of Pisa (cf. fol. 1) and notes in the hand of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (fols. 248, 259). It belonged for a time to S. Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome (cf. fol. 1).

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Urbinas lat. 442*: membr., s. XV, ff. 79-129. See C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates latini*, vol. i (Rome, 1902), p. 442. From the collection of Count Federico II of Urbino (cf. fol. 1). A subscription similar to the one in Laurentianus 20 sin. 7 (see above) is found at the end of the *Spanish War* (fol. 174v): 'Monticatino comitatus Vulterrarum manu mei Francisci olim Ser Fr. Bonfilii dñi Pieri de Contugis, civis et notarii Vulterrani, anno dñi MCCCCLXII X. indict. die XXIII augusti' (sigla tabellionatus).

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 1828*: membr., s. XV, ff. 88v-144v. See B. Nogara, *Codices Vaticani latini. Codices 1461-2059* (Rome, 1912), pp. 288-90.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 1829*: membr., s. XV, ff. 103-163v. See B. Nogara, *Codices Vaticani latini. Codices 1461-2059* (Rome, 1912), p. 289. The arms of Cardinal Barbo are found on fol. 1.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Vaticanus lat. 11466*: membr., s. XV, ff. 82-127. See J. Ruysschaert, *Codices Vaticani latini. Codices 11414-11709* (Rome, 1959), pp. 101-102. The manuscript belonged successively to Octavius Vialis, Antonius Constantinus, and Marcus Antonius Muretus (cf. fol. 1).

VENICE, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana *1683*: chart., s. XV, ff. 123-194. See *Bibl. S. Marci*, vol. vi, p. 6.

VENICE, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana *1989*: membr., s. XV, ff. 66v-106v. See *Bibl. S. Marci*, vol. vi, pp. 7-8. The codex is written in double columns and belonged to Ambrogio Contarini and Giacomo Contarini (cf. inside front cover and fol. i).

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *34*: membr., s. XV, ff. 100v-163. See Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, vol. VIII.6.4 (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 48-50 and pl. XVII (fol. 1). The titles refer to the *Civil War* as the 'Bellum Hispanum'. The manuscript was written in

Naples for King Ferdinand I, and later belonged to Georg Wilhelm Freiherr von Hohendorff.

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *77*: membr., s. XV, ff. 89-143^{v}. See Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, vol. VIII.6.4 (Leipzig, 1933), p. 109 and pl. XLIV.3 (fol. 1). The scribe apparently signed his name on fol. 184^{v}: 'Explicit Ja. de Hollandia'. The manuscript was owned in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Cardinal Renatus de Brie († 1519) and came to the Nationalbibliothek from the collection of Georg Wilhelm Freiherr von Hohendorff in 1720.

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *112*: membr., s. XV, ff. 82^{v}-130. See Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, vol. VIII.6.3 (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 45-46. The codex formed part of the collection of Joannes Sambucus (cf. the *nota possessoris* on fol. 177), and Oudendorp may have used it for his edition.

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *3181*: chart., s. XV, ff. 81-131^{v}. See Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, vol. VIII.6.4 (Leipzig, 1933), p. 15 and pl. V.2 (fol. 1). The *nota possessoris* on fol. 178^{v} has been erased.

*WROCŁAW, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka *R 57*: chart., s. XV, ff. 64-107. See K. Ziegler, *Catalogus codicum latinorum classicorum qui in Bibliotheca Urbica Wratislaviensi adservantur* (Breslau, 1915), p. 18.

CONTAMINATED MANUSCRIPTS (φ-χ TYPE)

Although nearly all the *recentiores* fall into the categories just enumerated, there are a few codices which are neither copies of older surviving manuscripts nor contaminated witnesses of the usual type. They form a group by themselves and are the handiwork of French scribes and illuminators with the exception of Milan A. 243 inf. which is a Mantuan product. I have not been able to determine the strain of text carried by these manuscripts with the same degree of precision as in the case of the M-N variety, but it is certainly owing to a φ-χ combination.[1] They do not exhibit the erroneous transposition at 2.18.5. I can say definitely that they do not tell us anything more about the archetype than we already know; therefore they have no stemmatic value. The manuscripts which make up this group are the following:

CAMBRIDGE, University Library *Nn. 3. 5*: membr., s. XV, ff. 121-185. See *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. iv (Cambridge, 1861), pp. 476-77. Julius Celsus

[1] For example 1.1.3 *auctoritati*, 1.7.3 *nudata*, 1.15.1 *maximo progressu*, 1.17.2 *equitum*. The manuscripts show no traces of the distinctive readings of θ or omissions peculiar to any of the manuscripts.

is thought to be the author of the *Civil War*. The codex was considered by early editors to have belonged to John Moore, Bishop of Ely, but it is not listed in the catalogue of his library.

MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana *A. 243 inf.*: membr., s. XV, ff. 110-176v. See Cipriani, *Codici miniati*, pp. 159-60. The arms of the Borromeo family are found on fol. 4; the manuscript has been in the Ambrosiana since 1604 (cf. fol. iv).

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale *Lat. 5782*: membr., s. XV, ff. 1-49v. See *Catal. Bibl. Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 156. Former owners include de Thou and Colbert.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Ottobonianus lat. 1736*: membr., s. XV, ff. 57-91. See A. Marucchi, 'Stemmi di possessori dei manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. vii (Studi e Testi, 237), p. 57. Fol. 1 contains the arms of Charles, Duke of Orléans († 1465). Other owners of the manuscript include Jean Grolier, Paul Petau, Alexandre Petau, Queen Christina of Sweden, and Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. Excerpts from Petrarch's *Vita Julii Caesaris* are found on fols. 119-121.

VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana *Reginensis lat. 904*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 75-122v. The *Civil War* is attributed to Julius Celsus. Excerpts from Petrarch's *Vita Julii Caesaris* are to be found on fols. 167v-170v; cf. M. Vattasso, *I codici petrarcheschi della Vaticana* (Studi e Testi, 20), p. 101. The manuscript belonged to Bishop Ludovico d'Harcourt, Paul Petau, and Queen Christina of Sweden (cf. fols. 1, 2).

UNEXAMINED MANUSCRIPTS

For various reasons, some manuscripts were inaccessible, and they are listed below. Wherever possible, I have tried to determine the nature of their text on the basis of information provided in catalogue descriptions. In instances where this was not allowed, it can at least be said that the manuscripts appear to be of Italian origin and might well be placed in one of the classes already mentioned.

CHICAGO, Library of the Armour Institute of Technology: membr., s. XV. See De Ricci, *Census*, vol. i, p. 512. The manuscript has been missing for many years, and apparently no microfilm was made before its disappearance. The De Ricci description is too brief to allow of any surmise regarding the strain of text. It contained the arms of Pius II at the beginning.

COLOGNY, Dr. Martin Bodmer Collection: membr., s. XV, ff. 61-102. See *Catalogue of Fifty-Nine Illuminated Manuscripts. The Property of the Late C. W. Dyson Perrins, Esq. Which Will Be Sold by Auction at Messrs. Sotheby & Co. (29 November, 1968)*, pp. 92-93 and pl. XLVI (fol. 1). Although the Bodmer collection has been opened to the public recently, I was not able to see the manuscript or obtain a microfilm

before the publication of this study. The codex was written in Naples for the Aragonese kings, and its illumination resembles that of Valencia 396 and Vienna 34. Since these and other manuscripts written at Naples all belong to the larger of the M-N groups, we may not be wide of the mark in assuming that the Cologny manuscript also carries this text. Later owners of the codex include the tenth Duke of Hamilton, the Prussian Government, and Charles Fairfax Murray.

DRESDEN, Sächsische Landesbibliothek *Dc 167*: membr., s. XIV, ff. 78-126^v. See F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld and L. Schmidt, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 328-29. The manuscript was severely damaged in the last war and is no longer legible; it had been cited occasionally by Klotz and Fabre. As in Berlin Hamilton 125 and Vaticanus lat. 11466, the following occurs at the end of the *Spanish War*: 'Explicit quod repertum est ex libro sexto Commentariorum A. Hircii seu C. Oppii de bello civili Hispaniensi. Non erat amplius in vetustissimis codicibus.' If the Dresden manuscript was copied in its entirety from the same exemplar, then it very likely belongs to the larger M-N group.

ETON, Eton College Library *268*: membr., s. XV. See *Mostra storica della legatura artistica in Palazzo Pitti* (Florence, 1922), no. 257, p. 78. I was not able to see the manuscript before the publication of this volume, nor was it possible to obtain a microfilm. Previous owners include Thomas Mahieu, the Abbé of Sève, the Marquis de Migieu, Baron Horace de Landau, Sig.ra J. Finaly, and J. W. Hely-Hutchinson. (This information was very kindly provided by Mr. P. L. Strong, Keeper of College Library).

LONDON, Major J. R. Abbey Collection *J. A. 3220*: membr., s. XV, ff. 74-122. See J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. 131-32 and pl. LIX (fol. 1). Major Abbey died 24 December 1969 and his collection is now in the process of being sold. I was not able to see the manuscript or to obtain a microfilm. The titles suggest that the codex has the strain of text found in the larger M-N group.

LOUVAIN, Bibliothèque de l'Université *G. 149*: chart., s. XV, ff. 89-148^v. See M.-Th. Vernet-Boucrel, 'Quelques manuscrits de classiques latins à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Louvain', *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, vol. ii (Paris, 1949), pp. 366-68. The codex was destroyed in May, 1940. The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes has a partial microfilm of the manuscript, but it is, unfortunately, too incomplete for any textual purpose. The manuscript was written by a scribe named Georgius, and earlier owners include Nicolaus Scarampus and Ambroise Firmin-Didot.

The procedure followed in trying to ascertain the character of the *recentiores* gradually evolved by trial and error, and the validity of the criteria used in separating the different strains of text is,

I think, proven by sheer force of numbers. Moreover, the study of the later transmission has an interest that is peculiarly its own.

The large number of Italian manuscripts attests to the major role played by the scribes of Caesar's native land in the production of the *recentiores*. The ancient split between Nipperdey's α and β group, that is, between manuscripts containing only the *Gallic War* and those with the full complement of the five *Wars* was invariably preserved. It is the rare manuscript indeed that does not also retain the original order-the *Gallic War* followed by the *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*— and it may be that those which do not have in common something more than a scribal whim. On the whole, however, a resurgence of interest in France would have been more desirable. For that nation was the site of the scriptoria in which most of the older manuscripts were written, and we may rightly feel that there, if anywhere, was to be found a witness with stemmatic value. It is disappointing that only a handful of *recentiores* can be assigned to French scribes and illuminators, and that none of these have any worth. Even what could be called a modest expectation of finding a copy of S or its exemplar with the missing chapters at 3.43.3-48.2, and thus providing a third witness for this part of the text, was not realized.

The negative results that I have outlined in the preceding pages are occasionally balanced by readings which appear in modern texts as conjectures. But is it worth the trouble to collate nearly 165 manuscripts for the sake of conjectures alone? In addition to medieval corrections, the text is overlaid also with Renaissance emendations of the simplest and most obvious nature. Surely the time spent on such a task could be put to better use in tackling some of the points already mentioned or in searching obscure or uncatalogued libraries for more manuscripts or in determining the later tradition of the *Gallic War* and the rest of the corpus. [1]

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[1] Since this volume went to press, I have found two more manuscripts which belong to the larger class of the hybrid M-N type. They are:

* Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska *514*: membr., s. XV, pp. 200-305

* Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Carlo Berio *Cf. 2. 17*: membr., s. XV, ff. 101v-162.

I have been informed that another manuscript (Monreale, Bibliotheca Comunale *XXV. F. 22*) also contains the *Civil War*, but I was unable to obtain a microfilm before the publication of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

A *SPECIMEN CRITICUM*

In previous chapters I have suggested a number of changes regarding the stemma that appears in modern editions. They involve principally the construction of a tripartite stemma and the elimination of three of the eight manuscripts currently used. Mindful of Bédier's observation that a stemma which works on paper and one which works in actual practice are often quite different,[1] I propose now to test these conclusions by means of a *specimen criticum*.

The passage that seemed eminently suitable for this purpose was Curio's appeal to the soldiers and the events immediately preceding and following (2.30-34). As the longest speech in *oratio recta* in the *Civil War*, the harangue is interesting from a rhetorical standpoint, and the variants seem to me to amply illustrate and confirm the validity of a tradition with three branches. For what they reveal is not a separation of the witnesses into two groups, but rather three independent witnesses, any one of which may agree with the second or third. Moreover, in comparing this portion of the text with the Budé or Teubner apparatus, it is apparent that those manuscripts which have been rejected as *descripti*, namely L, N, and R, show no signs of an independent descent and justly deserve to be eliminated. Once the stemma has been established, the editing of the text according to the stemmatic theory should be fairly straightforward since the concurrence of any two branches gives the reading of the archetype.[2] But can the manuscripts be trusted? A belief of long standing asserts that the tradition is very poor, the text having been transmitted by an archetype riddled with mistakes.[3] Thus a prime concern has been conjecture and emendation. I have already pointed out[4] that pre-nineteenth century editors used mainly vulgate codices, and a large part of

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[1] *Romania* 54 (1928), pp. 169-70.

[2] Cf. also p. 33.

[3] This probably originated with Nipperdey who was convinced of the inferior quality of the manuscripts of the *Civil War* (cf. p. 7). Fabre (pp. lv-lvi) and Klotz (pp. iv-v) share in his misgivings.

[4] pp. 2-6.

their labors was expended in vain. Nevertheless, despite the emergence of authoritative witnesses, the tendency has been to perpetuate and increase the number of emended readings rather than rely on the text of the manuscripts. The result of this continued zeal is a work like Meusel's *Tabula coniecturarum* in which the emendations to the *Civil War* occupy twice as many pages as those proposed for the *Gallic War*, although the former is approximately half the length of the latter. The conjectures made since 1893, the year in which the *Tabula* appeared, would increase his list considerably.

The question, to put it simply, is this: is the text to be constructed from manuscripts or from emendations? Given the principles of stemmatics, the editor who pays not just lip-service to this method is obliged to put his confidence in the codices. Otherwise he runs the risk of making the text read as he wants it to read. In preparing the specimen presented below, I have found that the manuscripts, on the whole, make very good sense. Some of the suggested alterations are wrong, and nearly all are unnecessary and palaeographically implausible; the most egregious of these are discussed in the notes following the text. In the few instances where the transmitted reading is untenable and emendation is called for, I have tried to consider not only meaning and style, but also the reason behind the scribe's error.

SIGLA

S	=	Laurentianus Ashburnhamensis 33, saec. x
φ	=	consensus codicum MU
M	=	Laurentianus 68.8, saec. x-xi
U	=	Vaticanus lat. 3324, saec. xi-xii
χ	=	consensus codicum TV
T	=	Parisinus lat. 5764, saec. xi
V	=	Vindobonensis 95, saec. xii
ω	=	consensus omnium codicum
S^1M^1, etc.	=	SM, etc., nondum correcti
S^cM^c, etc.	=	SM, etc., a librario ipso ut videtur correcti
S^2M^2, etc.	=	SM, etc., a secunda manu correcti

Editiones

Aldus	Venetiis, 1571
Beroaldus	Bononiae, 1504
Ciacconius	Francofurti, 1606
Fabre	Parisiis, 1936
Hotomanus	Lugduni, 1574
Paul	Vindobonae, 1889
Stephanus	Parisiis, 1544
Vascosan	Parisiis, 1543

COMMENTARIORUM BELLI CIVILIS

LIBER SECUNDUS

30 Quibus de causis consilio convocato de summa rerum deliberare 1
incipit. Erant sententiae quae conandum omnibus modis castraque 2
Vari oppugnanda censerent, quod huiusmodi militum consiliis otium
maxime contrarium esse arbitrarentur. Postremo praestare dicebant
per virtutem in pugna belli fortunam experiri, quam desertos et cir-
cumventos ab suis gravissimum supplicium perpeti. Erant qui cen- 3
serent de tertia vigilia in Castra Cornelia recedendum, ut maiore
spatio temporis interiecto militum mentes sanarentur; simul, si quid
gravius accidisset, magna multitudine navium et tutius et facilius
in Siciliam receptus daretur.

31 Curio utrumque improbans consilium, quantum alteri senten- 1
tiae deesset animi, tantum alteri superesse dicebat: hos turpissimae
fugae rationem habere, illos etiam iniquo loco dimicandum putare.
'Qua enim' inquit 'fiducia et opere et natura loci munitissima castra 2
expugnari posse confidimus? Aut vero quid proficimus si accepto 3
magno detrimento ab oppugnatione castrorum discedimus? Quasi
non felicitas rerum gestarum exercitus benevolentiam imperatoribus
et res adversae odia concilient! Castrorum autem mutatio quid habet 4
nisi turpem fugam et desperationem omnium et alienationem exer-
citus? Nam neque prudentes suspicari oportet sibi parum credi,
neque improbos scire sese timeri, quod illis licentiam timor augeat
noster, his studia deminuat. Quod si iam' inquit 'haec explorata 5
habeamus, quae de exercitus alienatione dicuntur, quae quidem ego
aut omnino falsa aut certe minora opinione esse confido, quanto haec
dissimulari et occultari quam per nos confirmari praestet? An non, 6
uti corporis vulnera, ita exercitus incommoda sunt tegenda, ne spem

3 consilium militum sotium **S** 6 perpeti erant χ: proiecerant **SU**^{1}: pati proiecerant (pati *in marg.* U) **M**^{1}**U**^{c}: pati porro erant **M**^{2} 9 tutius **M**^{2}**U**χ: totius **SM**^{1} 11 alteri *om.* χ 13 iniquo] ilico **S** 15 vero] vos **S** 17 non **SM**: non et **UT**: et non **V** 18 concilient **SM**^{2}**U**: conlient **M**^{1}: colligent χ autem *om.* **S** 20 pudentis *Ciacconius* 22 nostris his **U**: nostris i **M**^{1}: nostris **M**^{2} *post* his *suppl. Ciacconius* suspicio dim- χ: deminuant **M**^{2} 23 habemus *Aldus* 24 aut omnino *om.* **S** 25 dissimulari *Beroaldus*: -are ω occultare **S** 25-26 an . . . tegenda *om.* **S**

adversariis augeamus? Aut etiam, ut media nocte proficiscamur, ad- 7
dunt, quo maiorem, credo, licentiam habeant qui peccare conentur;
namque huiusmodi res aut pudore aut metu tenentur, quibus rebus
nox maxime adversaria est. Quare neque tanti sum animi ut sine 8
spe castra oppugnanda censeam, neque tanti timoris ut ipse defi-
ciam, atque omnia prius experienda arbitror magnaque ex parte
iam me una vobiscum de re iudicium facturum confido.'

32 Dimisso consilio contionem advocat militum. Commemorat 1
quo sit eorum usus studio ad Corfinium Caesar, ut magnam partem
Italiae beneficio atque auctoritate eorum suam fecerit. 'Vos enim 2
vestrumque factum' inquit 'omnia deinceps municipia sunt secuta,
neque sine causa et Caesar amicissime de vobis et illi gravissime
iudicaverunt. Pompeius enim nullo proelio pulsus vestri facti prae- 3
iudicio demotus Italia excessit; Caesar me, quem sibi carissimum
habuit, provinciam Siciliam atque Africam, sine quibus urbem atque
Italiam tueri non potest, vestrae fidei commisit. Adsunt qui vos 4
hortentur ut a nobis desciscatis. Quid enim est illis optatius quam
uno tempore et nos circumvenire et vos nefario scelere obstringere?
Aut quid irati gravius de vobis sentire possunt quam ut eos prodatis
qui se vobis omnia debere iudicant? In eorum potestatem veniatis
qui se per vos perisse existimant? An vero in Hispania res gestas 5
Caesaris non audistis? Duos pulsos exercitus, duos superatos duces,
duas receptas provincias? Haec acta diebus XL quibus in conspec-
tum adversariorum venerit Caesar? An qui incolumes resistere non 6
potuerunt, perditi resistant? Vos autem certa victoria Caesarem
secuti, diiudicata iam belli fortuna, victum sequamini cum vestri
officii praemia percipere debeatis? Desertos enim se ac proditos a 7
vobis dicunt et prioris sacramenti mentionem faciunt. Vosne vero 8
L. Domitium, an vos Domitius deseruit? Nonne extremam pati
fortunam paratos proiecit ille? Non sibi clam vobis salutem fuga
petivit? Non proditi per illum Caesaris beneficio estis conservati?
Sacramento quidem vos tenere qui potuit, cum proiectis fascibus 9
et deposito imperio privatus et captus ipse in alienam venisset po-
testatem? Relinquitur nova religio ut eo neglecto sacramento, quo 10
tenemini, respiciatis illud quod deditione ducis et capitis deminu-

1 aut] at *Beroaldus* ut *om.* **SV** 5 ut ipse] uti spe *Meusel* 6 magna **S** 12 gavisissime **M**χ 13 enim] autem *Paul* 16 at sunt *Paul*: adsunt nobis χ 19 aut] at **S** ut] aut **S** 20 veniat is **S** 21 existimat **S** hispaniam χ 25 incerta *Aldus* 26 sequimini **S** 27 ac se¦**S** 30 nonne sibi χ 31 non φ: nonne χ: nam **S** 34 religio *om.* χ 35 te memini χ dim- **S**

tione sublatum est. At, credo, si Caesarem probatis, iam me offen- 11
ditis! Qui de meis in vos meritis praeiudicaturus non sum, quae sunt
adhuc et mea voluntate et vestra expectatione leviora. Sed tamen
sui laboris milites semper eventu belli praemia petiverunt, qui qualis
sit futurus, ne vos quidem dubitatis. Diligentiam quidem nostram
aut, quem ad finem adhuc res processit, fortunam cur praeteream?
An paenitet vos quod salvum atque incolumem exercitum nulla 12
omnino navi desiderata traduxerim? Quod classem hostium primo
impetu adveniens profligaverim? Quod bis per biduum equestri
proelio superaverim? Quod ex portu sinuque adversariorum CC
naves oneratas adduxerim eoque illos compulerim, ut neque pedestri
itinere neque navibus commeatu iuvari possint? Hac vos fortuna 13
atque his ducibus repudiatis Corfiniensem ignominiam in Italiae
fugam, an Hispaniarum deditionem in Africi belli praeiudicia sequi-
mini! Equidem me Caesaris militem dici volui; vos me imperatoris 14
nomine appellavistis, cuius si vos paenitet, vestrum vobis beneficium
remitto. Mihi meum restituite nomen, ne ad contumeliam honorem
dedisse videamini.'

33 Qua oratione permoti milites crebro etiam dicentem interpel- 1
labant ut magno cum dolore infidelitatis suspicionem sustinere
viderentur, discedentem vero ex contione universi cohortantur
'magno sit animo, nec ibi dubitet proelium committere et suam
fidem virtutemque experiri.' Quo facto, commutata omnium et vo- 2
luntate et opinione, † consensu suo † constituit Curio, cum primum
sit data potestas, proelio rem committere, posteroque die productos
eodem loco quo superioribus diebus constiterat in acie conlocat. Ne 3
Varus quidem Attius dubitat copias producere, sive sollicitandi
milites sive aequo loco dimicandi detur occasio, ne facultatem prae-
termittat.

34 Erat vallis inter duas acies, ut supra demonstratum est, non 1
ita magna aut difficili et arduo ascensu. Hanc [uterque] si adver-
sariorum copiae transire conarentur, expectabat quo aequiore loco

1 si *del. Ciacconius* iam **ω**: in *Ciacconius* 2 de meis **S**^{c}**M**^{2}: dē eis **S**^{1}**M**^{1} praedicaturus *Aldus* 5 nostram an paenitet vos **S** 7 incolumen **φ** 13 in] an *Fabre, del. Ciacconius* 14 fugam *Ciacconius*: fuga **φχ**, *om.* **S** in *del. Ciacconius* 17 nomen rest- **χ** 19-21 qua . . . viderentur *om.* **U** 22 nec ibi **V**: neubi **SM**^{1}**U**: necubi **T**: neu **M**^{2} 23 et *om.* **S** 24 consensu suo **ω**: con- summo *Hotomanus*: con- suorum *Stephanus* 26 ne **SU**: nec **χ**: nam **M** 27 Attius *del. Meusel, sed cf. R. Syme, Historia 7 (1958), pp. 172, 174* 27-28 sive . . . milites *om.* **U** 31 magna *Ciacconius* (*cf. 2.27.3*): magno **ω** aut **ω**: at *Ciacconius*

proelium committeret; simul ab sinistro cornu P. Atti equitatus 2
omnis et una levis armaturae interiecti complures, cum se in vallem
demitterent, cernebantur. Ad eos Curio equitatum et duas Marruci- 3
norum cohortes mittit; quorum primum impetum equites hostium
non tulerunt, sed admissis equis ad suos refugerunt; relicti ab his
qui una procurrerant levis armaturae circumveniebantur atque
interficiebantur ab nostris. Huc tota Vari conversa acies suos fugere
et concidi videbat. Tum Rebilus, legatus Caesaris, quem Curio secum 4
ex Sicilia duxerat quod magnum habere usum in re militari sciebat,
'perterritum' inquit 'hostem vides, Curio; quid dubitas uti temporis
opportunitate?' Ille unum elocutus, ut memoria tenerent milites 5
ea quae pridie sibi confirmassent, sequi sese iubet et praecurrit ante
omnes. Adeoque erat impedita vallis ut in ascensu nisi sublevati a
suis primi non facile eniterentur. Sed praeoccupatus animus Attia- 6
norum militum timore et fuga et caede suorum nihil de resistendo
cogitabat, omnesque iam se ab equitatu circumveniri arbitrabantur.
Itaque priusquam telum abici possit aut nostri propius accederent,
omnis Vari acies terga vertit seque in castra recepit.

1 *post* committeret *suspexit lacunam Paul* 2 armaturae *Aldus*: armatura et **ω** 3 demitterent *Vascosan*: dim- **ω** ad eos **M**^{2}**U**χ: ad eo se **M**^{1}: ab eis **S** 5 admissis *Faernus*: amissis **ω** 6 armature **M**: -ra **SU**χ 8 tunc χ 11 memoria **M**^{c}χ: -am **SM**^{1}**U** 12 se **S** 15 timore **U**: timore tempore **M**: tempore **S**χ 16 se iam χ

NOTES

32.6 Vos autem *certa* victoria Caesarem secuti, diiudicata iam belli fortuna, victum sequamini cum vestri officii praemia percipere debeatis?

certa ω: incerta *Aldus et rell.*

This is one of the more attractive of the Aldine emendations to win universal acceptance; *incerta* at first glance appears quite in order, providing as it does a neat contrast with *diiudicata.* Even in an excess of rhetorical enthusiasm, however, Curio could hardly have said *incerta.* The soldiers whom he is addressing had previously been under the command of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus at Corfinium (2.28.1), and had voluntarily surrendered that town to Caesar (1.20). Immediately afterwards they were sent by him to Sicily (1.25.1) with Curio as their leader (1.30.2), and thence to Africa (2.23.1). Strictly speaking, the only contact these soldiers had with Caesar was at Corfinium, since they had never served with him in Gaul.[1] There can be little doubt that the victory at Corfinium, albeit bloodless, was decisive and not without significant results, for Caesar [2] was able to proceed without difficulty down the coast into Apulia (1.23.5) and Pompey, upon hearing of the defeat, withdrew to Brundisium (1.24.1). Exaggerating slightly, Curio had remarked earlier in the speech (32.3) that the events at Corfinium had forced a shaken Pompey to leave Italy; surely he would be guilty of an extraordinary inconsistency if, a few lines later, he were to speak of the 'battle' in a wholly different light. What we have, then, are the facts and nothing more with *certa,* the reading of the manuscripts.

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[1] Domitius had originally twenty cohorts at Corfinium made up of recruits from Alba, the territory of the Marsi and Paeligni and neighboring regions (1.15.7), and acquired thirteen more with the arrival of Vibullius Rufus and his forces (15.6). The latter were composed of soldiers formerly stationed at Asculum Picenum under the command of Lentulus Spinther and at Camerinum with Lucilius Hirrus, and those drawn from the territory near the *ager Picenus* (15.3-5).

[2] For the impression that Caesar's victory at Corfinium made upon his contemporaries, cf. M. Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman* (Oxford, 1968), trans. P. Needham, pp. 201-202.

32.11 At, credo, si Caesarem probatis, *iam* me offenditis! Qui de meis in vos meritis *praeiudicaturus* non sum, quae sunt adhuc et mea voluntate et vestra expectatione leviora.

iam ω: in *Stephanus* praeiudicaturus ω: praedicaturus *Aldus et rell.*

But, I suppose, if you approve of Caesar, you are now turning on me! I shall not evaluate ahead of time my services towards you which, as yet, do not measure up both to my wish and your hope.

iam has been altered to *in* because *offenditis* was taken to signify 'displeased at' or 'dissatisfied with'.[1] But such a use is very rare, appearing nowhere else in Caesar, and only once in Cicero where the full idiom is 'offendere aliquid in me' (*pro Mil.* 36.99). In Republican and later Latin [2] the usual meaning of this verb with a direct object is 'to give offence to', 'to harm', and Caesar uses it in this sense in the *Gallic War* (1.19.2). There seems little point therefore in continuing to uphold a dubious emendation when the manuscripts present us with an acceptable reading.

Since the introduction of *praedicaturus*, editors have been content to print this emendation without further ado. It is true that *praeiudicaturus* is not one of Caesar's favorite words, for it is found here in the *Civil War* and never in the *Gallic War*. There are, however, two arguments for its preservation. First, if the principle of the *lectio difficilior* is applied, clearly *praeiudicaturus* must be preferred to the more common *praedicaturus* which is used often in both *Wars*. Then, the fact that *praeiudicium* is used twice in Curio's speech, these being the only instances of its occurrence anywhere in Caesar. Given the rhetorical devices in the harangue, it is not difficult to imagine that *praeiudicaturus* was intended as a verbal echo.

32.13 Hac vos fortuna atque his ducibus repudiatis Corfiniensem ignominiam *in* Italiae *fugam, an* Hispaniarum deditionem *in* Africi belli praeiudicia sequimini!

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[1] Cf. Fabre's rendering in the Budé text: 'Mais, sans doute, satisfaits de César, est-ce de moi que vous êtes mécontents?' Also F. P. Long (Oxford, 1906): 'Possibly, however, I am to conclude that, though you approve of Caesar, you find fault with me'; A. G. Peskett (Loeb edition): 'But, I suppose, even if you approve of Caesar, you stumble at me'; S. Mariner Bigorra (Barcelona, 1961): 'Pero, digo yo, si estáis contentos de César, tenéis quejas contra mi.'

[2] e.g. Cicero, *pro Sul.* 2.5, *pro Bal.* 26.58; Horace, *Ars poet.* 451; Ovid, *Amores* 3.3.31; Livy 33.46.8; Suetonius, *Claud.* 26.1; Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.9.26.

in *prius*] an *Fabre, del. Ciacconius* in *del. Ciacconius* fugam *Ciacconius*: fuga φχ, *om.* **S**

The above has been subjected to constant emendation.[1] Curio has just recounted the victorious exploits of Caesar in Spain and his own in Africa. Nearing the peroration, he now asks incredulously if the soldiers propose to switch sides, thereby following a party whose whole career has been marked by defeat and flight. The events specifically referred to in this sentence are the surrender of Corfinium in February of 49 B.C. and Pompey's departure from Brundisium in March, and the capitulation of Afranius and Petreius in Spain at the beginning of August with Curio's triumphant campaign opening up a new front in Africa during that same month. The emphasis here is on the shifting scene of battle, and editors have destroyed the sense by deleting the prepositions and placing *Africi belli praeiudicia* in apposition to the other accusatives. The only emendation that seems necessary is the change of *fuga* to *fugam*. This is a simple alteration which does not strain the possibility of palaeographic error as the scribe, after writing *fuga*, could easily have gone on to *an* and omitted the intervening letter.

33.1 Qua oratione permoti milites crebro etiam dicentem interpellabant ut magno cum dolore infidelitatis suspicionem sustinere viderentur, discedentem vero ex contione universi cohortantur 'magno sit animo, *nec ibi* dubitet proelium committere et suam fidem virtutemque experiri.' Quo facto, commutata omnium et voluntate et opinione, † consensu *suo* † constituit Curio, cum primum sit data potestas, proelio rem committere . . .

nec ibi **V**: neubi **SM**[1]**U**: necubi **T**: neu **M**[2] consensu suo **ω**: consummo *Hotomanus*: con- suorum *Stephanus*

The first two italicized words have never, to my knowledge, been printed in any edition, but they are undoubtedly what Caesar wrote. Three reasons suggest that we give the nod to the reading of V. Palaeographically speaking, the confusion of *ci* with *u* is quite possible in minuscules, and Sφ all have the proper number of strokes while the over-zealous scribe of T added an extra letter. Next, from the viewpoint of sense, *nec ibi* suits the passage perfectly. The soldiers urge Curio to begin battle which indeed he does on the next day and on that very spot (33.2), asking the soldiers to remember their previous exhortation. Consequently *necubi* would seem to

[1] Cf. Meusel's *Tabula coniecturarum*, p. 63.

be overdoing it a bit. And lastly, *ne ubi* (*neubi* Klotz) is hardly possible, for Caesar never uses *ubi* in this way.

Although the alternatives to *suo* have had their various champions, neither of them is particularly satisfactory. For example, if *suorum* is accepted, it is difficult to explain how the scribe could have omitted *-rum*. Furthermore, *suorum* seems superfluous in view of the preceding sentence. The corruption of *summo* to *suo*, on the other hand, is somewhat easier to visualize, but it too is redundant in the light of what has gone before. What the manuscripts are trying to tell us is clear, namely that Curio assented to the soldiers' plea to join battle. This is a piece of information which is necessary, logical, and exactly what one would expect, though, since *consensus* is apparently never modified by *suus* (cf. *T.L.L.*, vol. iv, 390-93), not precisely in these words. I prefer therefore to obelize rather than accept either emendation.

34.1 Erat vallis inter duas acies, ut supra demonstratum est, non ita magna *aut* difficili et arduo ascensu. Hanc [*uterque*] si adversariorum copiae transire conarentur, expectabat quo aequiore loco proelium committeret; simul ab sinistro cornu P. Atti equitatus omnis et una levis armaturae interiecti complures, cum se in vallem demitterent, cernebantur.

aut ω: at *Ciacconius et rell.*

From the description of the battle between the forces of Varus and Curio, it is evident that the encounter did not take place on difficult terrain. Caesar tells us that the cavalry and light infantry of P. Attius descended into the valley, and that Curio despatched troops to meet them (34.3). The *equites* of the enemy were routed and beat a hasty retreat while the men on foot were surrounded and killed. Now it stands to reason that if the ascent upwards from the floor of the valley involved a difficult and arduous climb, escape would have been all but impossible for even the most agile horse. But as the enemy cavalry did manage to make its way to safety, one is led to infer that speed was the important factor, and that the *levis armatura* perished because they could not get out fast enough. Consequently the valley must have presented no particular problems of entrance and exit.[1] Ciacconius may have emended to

[1] It is perhaps worth pointing out that Lucan (iv. 710-11) describes the battle as being fought 'campis apertis'.

at on the strength of Caesar's statement at 34.5 that 'adeoque erat impedita vallis ut in ascensu nisi sublevati a suis primi non facile eniterentur.' In the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*, however, *impedita* has the meaning of 'encumbered' or 'obstructed', and the truth of the matter is that the valley was *impedita* because it was very crowded, being filled by this time with Curio's entire force of two legions and five hundred horsemen. Since there was not much space to begin with ('non ita magna'), those who were trying to cross the valley and pursue the enemy had to be helped out by their own men.

Although the evidence for accepting the reading of the manuscripts is very convincing, it is a pity that archaeology is not of much help in this instance. The area around Utica has changed drastically, and the city, at the beginning of our century, was located five miles from the sea. Despite the rather vague indication of the battlefield's location, scholars have nonetheless persisted in finding a site where the valley is not large and boasts steep sides.[1] And this with no regard for the possibility that the place may be completely covered over by sand!

The position of *uterque* is very odd, and not at all in keeping with Caesar's practice of placing the conjunction immediately after the introductory demonstrative or relative pronoun.[2] Something which falls far short of his usual lucid style is the result. Since *adversariorum* is the normal word for Pompey's forces, I think that the subject of *expectabat* is 'Curio' understood, with *uterque* being a marginal gloss that has crept into the text. Once this word has been deleted, there is no need to suppose a lacuna, as Paul and succeeding editors have done, after *committeret*.

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[1] Cf. G. Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, vol. III.2 (Berlin, 1912), pp. 735-36.
[2] Cf. the respective entries in the *Lexicon caesarianum*.

APPENDIX

In the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome there is a twelfth-century copy of the corpus Caesarianum which has long lain in obscurity.[1] Its shelf-mark is B. 45. Included in the same manuscript with the *Commentaries* (fols. 1-170^{v}) are Papias' lexicon (fols. 170bis-338^{v}), a treatise on medicine (fols. 339-429^{v}), and hymns to St. Catherine (fol. 429^{v}); these are the work of later hands, and their presence in the codex is doubtless accidental. Palaeographically speaking, the Caesar manuscript may be of considerable interest since it is written in minuscules by scribes who were apparently trained to write Beneventan.[2] On textual grounds, however, it does not represent a startling discovery as it is a copy of M. Nevertheless, the manuscript does have a modest contribution to make to the editing of the text inasmuch as it can be used to supply chapters 1-33 missing in the first book of M. The illuminated initials (fols. 77, 94, 105) are of the type executed *c.* 1100,[3] and there is no reason to believe that the script is not contemporary. Consequently B. 45 may well be at least a century older than m, the codex which has hitherto served to fill this lacuna and was dated by Lowe to the end of the twelfth/beginning of the thirteenth century.[4] Certain features in the two manuscripts can be best explained if m is considered a copy of the Vallicelliana manuscript, namely:[5]

[1] I first learned of the manuscript's existence, curiously enough, through an entry in the catalogue of the Göttingen University Library (*Verzeichniss der Handschriften im preussischen Staate*, vol.I. 1, Berlin, 1893, p. 25). It was stated there that Gustav Loewe, in January 1877, had collated that part of the manuscript containing the spurious *Commentaries* against Dinter's 1876 Teubner (now Göttingen Philol. 112i). As a twelfth-century codex of Caesar is hard to come by, it seemed to me worthwhile to look into the matter more carefully; upon examination the manuscript proved to contain the genuine works in addition to those noted by Loewe.

[2] The script deserves a separate palaeographical study. Some of the principal characteristics observed on ff. 77-130^{v} are: broken *c*, uncial *d*, *e* with a high loop, initial and medial *i*-longa, and the long stem of *f* and *r*. Punctuation and abbreviations also reflect the Beneventan practice.

[3] They resemble those done in southern France during this period, and may have been effected by an illuminator from that area who had migrated to Italy. Regarding the presence of foreign elements in Beneventan manuscripts, cf. E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 84-92.

[4] Ibid., p. 339.

[5] Although I have examined in detail only the folia of the *Civil War*, a brief

1. The number of leaves necessary for the writing of the *Civil War* (fols. 77-130^{v}) is exactly the same in both manuscripts, and this holds true also for the *Gallic War* (fols. 1-76^{v}). Further correspondence is lacking because two or more gatherings are lost in m at the end of the *Alexandrian* and beginning of the *African Wars*. What is even more telling is the fact that numerous folia of the *Civil War* not only begin and end with the same words but also have many passages with lines of identical length. The scribe of m thus seems to have set himself the task of making a page-by-page (and often line-by-line) copy of his model. This he must have found difficult, for Beneventan does not have the compressed, economical nature of Caroline,[1] nor was his exemplar of consistent length, being written in 33-35 lines. His efforts to produce at least a similar, if not identical, page probably accounts for m's varying number of lines (31-34) and a script that often has a cramped appearance. It is interesting to observe that he managed quite well when the page of his model displayed only 33 lines. However, as soon as there were 35 to cope with, he fell behind and had to resort to 'squeezing' to make up the difference.

2. All the ancient marginalia placed opposite the text of the *Civil War* in the Vallicelliana manuscript are found also in m, even to their exact position on the page (cf. ff. 84^{v}, 102, 107, 124^{v}, 125^{v}, 126^{v}). At 3.112.8 M gives 'q', the ancient abbreviation for *quam*. On fol. 130 the Vallicelliana scribe, having left out the line in which this word occurs, makes good his omission in the margin but writes incorrectly 'q;' (*que*); m has *que*. The logical inference is that a scribal misinterpretation of the early symbol is behind the error.

3. If m is actually a copy of B. 45, this would not be impossible or even unlikely. M itself seems to have been written in Italy, and, as the *Civil War* was not a widely-read work, probably stayed there. m was certainly the handiwork of an Italian scribe, and the Vallicelliana manuscript betrays a Beneventan background.

It should be stated clearly that there is no question of a radical alteration of readings, for the text offered by B. 45 of 1.1-33 hardly differs at all from that of m. Indeed, one could hardly assume

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survey of the rest of the manuscript strongly suggests that the observations made in the following paragraphs are valid with respect to the whole codex.

[1] Needless to say, he would have had the same problem if he had been copying M. There is nothing, however, to show that m is a direct copy of M, much less a page-by-page reproduction.

otherwise if m is really a copy of B. 45. I have drawn attention to the Rome manuscript principally to set the record straight regarding early copies of M. B. 45 is also easier for editors to use because it is more legible; the ink of m has faded, especially at the ends of lines, thereby making a clear reproduction difficult. A collation of the two manuscripts for 1.1-33 is given below.

1.1	a fabio
	imperatum
.	imperari
1.2	aut fortiter
1.3	gratia
2.2	*post* habiti *om.* et
2.3	neque esset
2.6	cum (*pro* eum)
	re publica
3.1	seniores
3.3	ad ius comitium tribunos plebis centurio evocat
4.3	adulatio atque ostentatio sui et potentium
5.1	ruptim
	intercessionem
5.3	*om.* plebis
	quique cons̄
5.4	ad (*pro* a.d.)
5.5	levissimis
6.1	exponit suas
	se separatas (*pro* sese paratas)
6.3	statim saltem de
	propere (*pro* pro praetore)
	mittatur *m corr.*: mittitur *Vall.*, m^1
6.7	ex Capitolio
	privatim
6.8	et fanis
7.1	deprivatum
7.4	dona (*pro* bona)
7.5	locis
7.7	re publica
8.2	*om.* se
	privatim
8.3	ne (*pro* ut)
9.2	pro beneficio (*pro* populi romani beneficium)
	om. per
	contumelia
9.5	a civitate
10.2	deliberata
11.1	ariminio *Vall.*
	reverteretur *m corr*; revertetur *Vall.*, m^1
11.2	cōs cesar coñs
11.4	ariminio *Vall.*
12.1	Tiguium
	Tiguinorum
	Arimino
12.2	voluntatis
12.3	Tiguium
13.4	S̄L̄ Pupius
14.1	Pompeio *m corr.*: Pompei *Vall.*, m^1
14.4	intra
	primum esse
	iulia *m corr.*: iuba *Vall.*, m^1
	libertati
15.1	auximo *m corr.*: maximo *Vall.*, m^1
	progressu
	om. -que
15.3	ausculum *Vall.*
	pinther
15.4	bibullium
	bibullius
	accepit
15.5	fugiente
	vallum hyrrun (*pro* Lucilium Hirrum)
16.1	recepit
16.4	transductis
17.2	magnoque
	equitatum
17.4	.xl. in singulos
18.1	nuntiantur
	aq̄ *m*: aqua *Vall.*

18.3	diem *Vall.*
19.5	circummunitionem
20.1	prima
	tribunum
21.1	agnitis
21.5	neque eo
	quin
	noctem
21.6	summa
21.1	sphinter
22.4	inspaniam
22.5	libertati (*pro* in libertatem)
23.1	illuxit
23.2	quinquaginta (-gita *Vall.*) ordines
	sphinter
	sed *Vall.*: set *m* (*pro* Sex.)
	lubrius
23.3	productus
	aperte
23.4	h.lx *Vall.*: h ? *m*
	ablatum *Vall.*: ? *m*
	iis viris
	om. quam
23.5	frentanorum
24.3	manilius
	preter *Vall.*, $\overline{\text{pt}}$ *m*
	albam
	bivius
24.4	aliae *m corr.*: alias *Vall.*, m^1
	cn. magnus
24.5	atque ad se
	ebrundisium
	perfici
25.1	at reliquis
25.3	extremis italiae
25.5	*om.* operum
25.6	continere
25.9	gratibus
26.1	deprenderat
	rares
26.2	actam et si (*pro* ac tametsi)
26.3	liboni
26.4	*om.* partem
27.1	eodem portaverant
27.2	*om.* ab
	initalia
27.3	difigit
28.2	tectis *m corr*: tictis m^1: tinctis *Vall.*
28.2	iubet. caesar castrum subit. pompeius ultra mare fugit. ne quem (*pro* iubet ne quam)
28.3	convenerant
	noctisque
29.3	alter
30.4	brotiisque
	siciliae *m corr*: sicilia *Vall.*, m^1
30.5	imparatissimis *m corr.*: imperatissimis *Vall.*, m^1
31.2	adduximum *m*
	aditus *m corr.*: auditus *Vall.*, m^1
	et praetura
32.3	catonem
	repugnantem
	extrahentem
	om. cur ferri passus esset? Si probasset
32.4	ultra
32.5	quid quod
	alterorum
32.6	legionibus *m corr.*: legibus *Vall.*, m^1
32.7	orat (*pro* hortatur)
32.9	operibus *m corr.*: opibus *Vall.*, m^1
	anteire *m corr.*: -iri *Vall.*, m^1
	om. et

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS USED IN MODERN EDITIONS

L London, British Museum, Additional Ms. 10084. s. XI/XII
ff. iii + 112 + iv. Parchment. 250 × 180 mm. 36 long lines. Collation, iii + 1 + 1^8-13^8, 14^7 + iv.

Contents:

1. ff. 2-60 *Gallic War*
2. ff. 60-94 *Civil War*
   f. 60 'Incipit liber nonus'
   f. 94 'Belli civilis liber tertius explicit'
3. ff. 94-107ᵛ *Alexandrian War*
4. ff. 107ᵛ-112ᵛ *African War*

F. 1 contains various notes by a *manus recens*; f. 2 was written by a fourteenth-century hand. There is no division between the first and second book of the *Civil War*, but a separation between the second and third is indicated by the illuminated initial letter of the latter (f. 78ᵛ). The manuscript was probably copied at Gembloux as it has a strong resemblance to Brussels 18239-40 (cf. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*[2], plate 77) which was written there. The notes in the margin are by the scribe or his contemporaries; there is a change of hands on f. 91. The codex formerly belonged to Laevinus Torrentius (Lievin van der Becke) and, according to the terms of his will, passed at his death in 1595 to the Jesuit College at Louvain. Hence the appellations 'Torrentianus' or 'Lovaniensis'. In 1836 it was purchased by the British Museum at the Sotheby sale of the Richard Heber collection. It is described briefly in *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1836-40* (London, 1843), p. 10 and *A Guide to the Manuscripts, Autographs, Charters, Seals, Illuminations and Bindings Exhibited in the Department of Manuscripts and in the Grenville Library* (London, 1899), p. 85. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, vol. i (Paris, 1884-92) gives a facsimile of f. 16 (plate 50 A.1).

m Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. lat. 68.6.
s. XII/XIII
ff. 163 + i. Parchment. 329 × 233 mm. 31-34 long lines. Collation, 1^8-19^8, 20^6, 21^5 + i.

Contents:

1. ff. 2-76ᵛ *Gallic War*
2. ff. 77-130ᵛ *Civil War*
3. ff. 130ᵛ-144ᵛ *Alexandrian War*
4. ff. 145-157 *African War*
5. ff. 157-163ᵛ *Spanish War*

The first book of the *Civil War* lacks a titulus, and those of books two and three have been erased. All three books contain illuminated initial letters (ff. 77, 94^v, 105). The codex is written in Beneventan script and is a copy of M. It has been used to supply 1.1.1-33.3 *sic tri-* which are now missing in the latter, but seems, however, to have been copied from Vallicellianus B. 45, also a copy of M, rather than from M itself (cf. pp. 78-79). Fifteenth-century binding of red leather with a chain. Niccolò Niccoli was one of the owners of the manuscript (cf. the *nota possessoris* on f. 1^v) which later formed part of the San Marco collection. It is described by Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. ii (Florence, 1775), 838, and noted by E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 17, 188-9, 194, 339. Chatelain provides a facsimile of f. 32^v (plate 49), and Ihm, *Palaeographia latina*^{2} (Leipzig, 1931) has a reproduction of f. 14 (plate 9).

M Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. lat. 68.8.
s. X/XI, XII

ff. iii + 163 + i. Parchment. 334 × 245 mm. 29 (earlier folia) and 35 (later folia) long lines. Collation, iii + 1^8-11^8, 12^4, 13^8-20^8, 21^4, 22^3 + i.

Contents:

1.	ff. 2-92^v	*Gallic War*
2.	ff. 93-133^v	*Civil War*
	f. 133^v	'Cesaris belli civilis liber III explicit'
3.	ff. 133^v-143	*Alexandrian War*
4.	ff. 143-154^v	*African War*
5.	ff. 154^v-163^v	*Spanish War*

None of the books of the *Civil War* has a titulus. Space at the beginning of books two and three (ff. 105, 116) was left by the scribe for large initial letters which were never effected. The first thirty-three chapters of book one are lost, but a copy of the manuscript was made before their disappearance (cf. supra). The character of the medieval script argues for an Italian origin. There has been considerable re-copying: ff. 2, 17-24^v, and 157-163^v are the work of a humanistic scribe; ff. 117-124^v and 133-156^v were written in the twelfth century. Many corrections by a *manus recens* are found throughout the manuscript; the twelfth-century portion shows a fair number of contemporary corrections. Binding: fifteenth-century red leather with a chain. Bandini, in his description of the codex (col. 840), transcribes the *nota possessoris* on fol. 1^v as 'Nicolai Acciaioli de Flor.'; it appears, however, that what is actually read is the name of Niccolò Niccoli.

N Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV. c. 11. s. XI

ff. 158. Parchment. 275 × 220 mm. 30 long lines. Collation 1^8-19^8, 20^6.

Contents:

1. ff. 1-69 *Gallic War*
2. ff. 69-116^v *Civil War*
   - f. 69 'Suetonii viri clarissimi de bellis civilibus Caesaris Gaii Julii liber primus incipit'
   - f. 85 'Suetonii Tranquilli viri clarissimi de bello civilibus Caesaris liber primus explicit. Incipit secundus'
   - f. 94 'Suetonii Tranquilli viri clarissimi de bellis civilibus Caesaris explieit liber secundus. Incipit tertius'
   - f. 116^v 'Belli civilis liber tertius explicit'
3. ff. 116^v-131 *Alexandrian War*
4. ff. 131-150 *African War*
5. ff. 150-158 *Spanish War*

The tituli and colophons were inserted by a later hand. The codex is the product of several scribes, probably French. There are numerous corrections, both contemporary and later, and varying colors of ink. It was bequeathed to Antonio Seripando by Aulo Giano Parrasio (cf. f. 158) and later was at S. Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples. A description of the manuscript is furnished by Iannellius, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Latinae veteris et classicae manuscriptae quae in Regio Neapolitano Museo Borbonico adservatur* (Naples, 1827), pp. 81-83. First used by D. Bassi for his edition of the *Gallic War* (Turin, 1920).

R Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 541. s. XII^1

ff. i + 187 + i. Parchment. 256 × 157 mm. 30-31 long lines. Collation, i + 1 + 1^8-7^8, 8^6, 9^7, 10^8-23^8, 24^3, 25^2 + i.

Contents:

1. ff. 2-87 *Gallic War*
2. ff. 87-139^v *Civil War*
   - f. 87 'Incipit liber nonus belli civilis'
   - f. 103^v 'Hirtii Pansae belli civilis C. Caesaris liber primus explicit feliciter. Incipit liber secundus feliciter'
   - f. 114 'Explicit G. Caesaris belli civilis liber II. Incipit tercius'
   - f. 139^v 'G. Caesaris belli civilis liber III explicit'
3. ff. 139^v-157 *Alexandrian War*
4. ff. 157-178^v *African War*
5. ff. 178^v-187^v *Spanish War*

The appearance of the writing suggests a French scriptorium. F. 1 is a later insertion and contains, on the verso, the insignia of the Tranchedini of Pontremoli whose arms are also found on f. 2. Some contemporary corrections. The manuscript is a copy of U and is listed in the *Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardi* (Florence, 1810), p. 15.

S Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnhamensis 33. s. X med.

ff. iii + 161 + i. Parchment. 270 × 220 mm. *c.* 30 long lines. Collation, iii + [1^8], 2^8-12^8, 13^6, 14^8, 15^6, 16^8-19^8, 20^7-22^7 + i.

Contents:
1. ff. 1-73^v *Gallic War*
2. ff. 74-121 *Civil War*
   f. 74 'De civili bello. Incipit liber nonus'
   f. 95^v 'Incipit liber decimus de bello civili'
   f. 121 'Belli civilis liber III (the numeral has been erased) explicit'
3. ff. 121-134^v *Alexandrian War*
4. ff. 134^v-153 *African War*
5. ff. 153-161^v *Spanish War*

The tituli on ff. 74 and 95^v were added by a twelfth-century hand. There is no separation of the first and second books of the *Civil War* because of some disarrangement in the order of the text (cf. pp. 18-19). To judge by its script, the codex is of French origin. The task of copying was shared by several scribes, for the hand often changes at the end of a quaternion, and the result is apparently a page-by-page copy of the exemplar for the most part. The last line of the text on many leaves ends mid-way in the line, and several pages have only a few lines (cf. ff. 8, 56, 147). The first gathering of the manuscript is lost, and the *Gallic War* begins on f. 1 at 1.30.1 *bello helveticorum*. Quaternions 3, 5-7, 9-11, 13-19 are numbered with Roman numerals on the verso, bottom center, of the last page. (The collation given above is consecutive and does not indicate those quaternions which are out of place or lost, except for the first one). The small red star with a white center on f. 1 suggests that the manuscript was at one time in the library of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais; cf. L. Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits du fonds Libri conservés à la Laurentienne* (Paris, 1886), p. 25. Two additional marks of ownership are also found on f. 1: 'C. de Bresche, 1614'; 'Emi Athiauda 1666'. In 1845 Libri acquired the manuscript from Techener, and two years later Lord Ashburnham bought the former's collection. The Latin and Italian items from this group were purchased by the Italian government in 1884. The manuscript is described by Paoli, *Indici e Cataloghi*, vol. viii (Rome, 1887), p. 7 and Rostagno, 'Il libro *de Bello Africo* nel cod. Laurenziano-Ashb. n° 33', *SIFC* 2 (1894), pp. 321-9. For a facsimile see Chatelain, plate 50 A.2 (f. 74) and Hering, plates 5-7 (ff. 8, 89^v, 108^v).

T Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5764. s. XI^2
ff. ii + 159 + i. Parchment. 345 × 235 mm. 29-34 lines in double columns. Collation, ii + 1^8-20^8 (f. 2bis) + i.

Contents:
1. ff. 1-78^v *Gallic War*
2. ff. 78^v-122 *Civil War*
   f. 78^v 'Incipit liber primus belli civilis feliciter'
   f. 94^v 'Explicit liber primus belli civilis. Incipit liber secundus eiusdem operis'
   f. 103 'Explicit C. Caesaris belli civilis liber secundus. Incipit liber secundus (tertius T^2) eiusdem operis'
   f. 122 'Explicit liber III belli civilis'

3.	ff. 122^{v}-136	*Alexandrian War*
4.	ff. 136-152	*African War*
5.	ff. 152-159	*Spanish War*

The manuscript was probably written in France, and contains some corrections by the scribe or his contemporaries. Quire signatures in Roman numerals at the bottom verso of the last page; illuminated initials on ff. 78^{v}, 95, and 103^{v}. Among the owners of the codex were Jacques-Auguste de Thou and Colbert (cf. f 1). It is described briefly in the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae,* vol. iv (Paris, 1744), pp. 154-5. There are facsimiles in Chatelain, plate 48 (f. 103^{v}) and Hering, plate 8 (f. 11^{v}).

U Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3324. s. XI/XII
ff. iv + 114 + iii. Parchment. 284 × 192 mm. 40 long lines. Collation, iv + 1^{8}-13^{8}, 14^{2}, 15^{4}-16^{4} + iii.

Contents:

1.	ff. 1-55	*Gallic War*
2.	ff. 55-85	*Civil War*
	f. 55	'Incipit liber VIIII belli civilis'
	f. 65^{v}	'Hircii Pansae belli civilis Gai Caesaris liber I explicit. Incipit II feliciter'
	f. 71^{v}	'G. Caesaris belli civilis liber II explicit feliciter. Incipit III feliciter'
	f. 85	'Gai Caesaris belli civilis liber III explicit feliciter'
3.	ff. 85-95	*Alexandrian War*
4.	ff. 95-106^{v}	*African War*
5.	ff. 106^{v}-111^{v}	*Spanish War*

Palaeographical considerations point to France as the manuscript's probable place of origin, and a clue to its provenance is found on ff. 111^{v}-112. These leaves contain a roughly contemporary inventory of the library of Saint-Martin-de-Massay (diocese of Bourges) and an entry for the 'historia iulii cesaris' (f. 111^{v}). Part of the inventory was erased to make room for the conclusion of the *Spanish War.* Ff. 112^{v}-114 contain sequences of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. All three books of the *Civil War* have an illuminated initial letter. Most of the corrections and marginal notes are contemporary. Later owners of the codex include Giovanni Tonsi, Bishop of Fano (cf. the *nota possessoris* on f. 114^{v}), Antonio Costanzi, Cardinal Achille Estaço, and Fulvio Orsini. Campana has identified the *manus recens* which re-copied the last chapters of the *Spanish War* and annotated ff. 1, 13, 16^{v}, 22 as that of Costanzi; see his article in *Rinascimento* 1 (1950), pp. 251-3. Orsini binding. The manuscript is listed among the books owned by Fulvio Orsini (Vaticanus lat. 7205, f. 26) and is described by Vattasso in Vaticanus lat. 13475 (ff. 362-363). Hering has a facsimile of f. 27 (plate 10).

V Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 95. s. XII[1]
ff. ii + 182. Parchment. 281 × 190 mm. 34 lines in double columns. Collation, ii + 1^8-14^8, 15^3, 16^8-23^8, 24^3.

Contents:

1.	ff. 2-86	*Gallic War*
2.	ff. 86v-137v	*Civil War*
	f. 86v	'Incipit liber primus civilis belli'
	f. 106	'Incipit secundus liber civilis belli'
	f. 116	'Incipit liber tercius civilis belli'
3.	ff. 137v-153	*Alexandrian War*
4.	ff. 153-173	*African War*
5.	ff. 173-182v	*Spanish War*

The manuscript may have been written by a scribe of the Monastery of SS. Matthew and Eucharius, Trier; its script closely resembles that of Trier 133, a famous codex from that scriptorium (cf. Steffens², plate 86).[1] There are a number of contemporary corrections. Elaborate initial letters are found on ff. 86v, 106, and 116, and smaller rubricated letters occur frequently in the text. The *capitulum* headings were inserted in the first two books of the *Civil War*, but not in the third. F. 1 contains various notes by later hands in addition to the name of one of its possessors, Alexander Brassicanus. Another owner was Joannes Fabri, Bishop of Vienna, who bequeathed the manuscript to the Collegium of St. Nicholas. It came to the Hofbibliothek in 1756. Hermann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, vol. VIII.2 (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 368-9 gives a full description of the manuscript. Chatelain has a facsimile of f. 92v (plate 50.2), and fig. 223 in Hermann shows the details of initial *G* on f. 2.

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[1] There has been some confusion in recent times regarding this point. According to Klotz, Fabre, and Hering an early owner of the manuscript was Bishop Eucharius of Trier himself. This is patently impossible, however, as Eucharius has a third-century *floruit*! (Cf. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, pp. 317-9 for a list of the bishops of Trier.) The error can, I think, be traced back to Alfred Holder who says in his edition of 1898 (pp. v, vii): 'Codicem Trevericum (*V*) per Wilhelmum von Hartel, qua est liberalitate, in hac ipsa urbe conferre mihi licuit; de libri fatis Alfredus Goeldlin von Tiefenau officiosissime certiorem me fecit .... V = Vindobonensis 95, olim sancti Eucharii primi Trevirorum archiepiscopi.' Whether Holder or Goeldlin is to blame for the slip is a moot question, but Eucharius' ownership seems well on the way to becoming an undisputed fact.

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